



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Gabon

Bongo Deplores Politicization of Security Forces

AB2807125090 Dakar PANA in English 1052 GMT
28 Jul 90

[Text] Libreville, 28 July (AGB-GAB/PANA)—Gabonese head of state, Omar Bongo, has deplored the politicisation of the security forces, saying the Army has become a money-making affair and tribalistic.

Speaking on Friday [27 Jul] in Libreville at the foundation stone-laying ceremony of the housing facilities for the security agents, the president said it was forbidden for the military to attach themselves to any political group. Their only political family is first and foremost the defence of the interests of the country, he said, adding that the force should be an elite corps. He called on those in the forces who like to participate in politics to say this openly.

On the concern of the police over maintenance of peace, Bongo said the police could only do a good job if they and their family were well housed.

He said that in order to avoid problems in the police force and their co-habitation with law breakers, the government has decided, in spite of the current crisis, to construct appropriate buildings for the officers and men.

The president said he would like to see a revival of the national days for the security forces which would provide another opportunity to discuss their problems. The project, observers note, is an obvious response by the government to the social security problems arising from the lack of housing, water, electricity and other social infrastructures for the forces. The two-phase project, estimated at 6.3 billion CFA francs (about 19 million US dollars), is expected to be completed by 1992.

Zaire

Minister Urges Students To Stop 'Unworthy Acts'

AB2707231690 Dakar PANA in English 1826 GMT
27 Jul 90

[Text] Kinshasa, 27 July (AZAP/PANA)—Zaire's minister of higher education and scientific research, Kam-bayi Bwatshia, has urged students to be more conscious of their important role in the on-going democratic process in the country. Speaking on Thursday [26 July] in Kinshasa, the minister said students should be better behaved, adding that the recent unworthy acts among them should be stopped. The call came against the background of strikes and some protest actions by students and workers in the central African country.

Bwatshia noted that the difficulties accompanying the democratic process in Zaire resulted from the fact that humans build their environment based on their personal experience rather than in conformity with the democratic ideal which allow for individual interaction.

The higher institutions, he said, should serve as the common network for interaction where ideas should circulate freely with tolerance and respect for institutions.

In a similar message, governor of Kinshasa, Fundu Nkoka, called on the people to responsibly shoulder national responsibilities. At this time when the country was trying to establish new political structures, Nkoka said, nobody should constitute a setback to the new democratic process.

Six Opposition Parties Criticize Multiparty Law

AB3007221390 Paris AFP in French 1505 GMT
26 Jul 90

[Text] Brussels, 26 Jul (AFP)—The law on the introduction and functioning of multipartyism in Zaire—with three authorized parties—adopted by the parliament on 16 July, is "trickery," the opposition in Brussels said today. "All the unilateral initiatives taken by (President) Mobutu (Sese Seko) and his clique have no validity" and the leadership "is no longer entitled to organize the democratic transition," six opposition parties have further stated in a communique.

According to the opposition, "this so-called law...is additional trickery by the Mobutist nomenclature." It is therefore "null and void." The "delegation of the opposition parties" has stuck to its demand of a national conference to launch the democratization process. According to the opposition, this call is also supported by the other active forces of the country, namely the bishops, the student movement, and the intellectuals signatory to the 30 June 1990 manifesto.

The multipartyism law was adopted by the Legislative Council (Zairian Parliament) by 165 votes against 23 with 10 abstentions. President Mobutu had announced in April the introduction of multipartyism limited to three parties. The six parties signatory to the communique are the Union for Democracy and Social Progress, UJPS; the Congolese National Movement-Lumumbaist, MNC-L; the National Liberation Front of Congo, FNLC; the People's Revolution Party, PRP; the Union of Progressive Forces of Congo-Kinshasa, UFPC; the Action Movement for the Revival of Congo, MARC.

Ruling MPR Party Announces Name Change

AB3107094690 Paris AFP in English 0929 GMT
31 Jul 90

[Text] Kinshasa, July 31 (AFP)—The ruling People's Movement for the Revolution (MPR) in Zaire is changing its name to People's Movement for Renewal with as its goal "genuine democracy" inspired by the "fundamental values" of local and African tradition, MPR leader Nsinga Ujjuu has announced.

Mr. Nsinga took over the MPR leadership on April 24 when head of state President Mobutu Sese Seko renounced his party role and the replacement of the former single party by a system of three parties. At a

press conference on Monday [30 Jul], Mr. Nsinga said that "only the exercise of genuine democracy can encourage the emergence of a new society founded on humanitarian values, justice, community welfare, progress and freedom."

The old MPR is blamed by a majority of Zairians for the country's catastrophic economic situation. The clergy was among its most vehement critics.

*** Opposition Said To Unite, Demands Round Table**

90AF0383A Brussels LE SOIR in French 12 Jul 90 p 8

[Article by Colette Braeckman: "Zairian Opposition Organizes and Demands 'Round Table'; Many Opposition Leaders Agree on One Point: Mobutu Must Go"]

[Text] The statement made in Lubumbashi by President Mobutu seems to have aroused public opinion unanimously against him. Opposition figures have criticized the fact that the chief of state went to visit the capital of Shaba region, which is still traumatized after the massacres that took place in May 1990. Above all, political groups have criticized the fact that only three political parties will reportedly be authorized after the primary elections. Certain observers note that the rejection of an international inquiry into the Lubumbashi affair may indicate in advance a probable refusal of any check on irregularities in the elections scheduled for January 1991.

In fact, the majority of the political parties, in Zaire or overseas, demand as a prior condition the holding of a national round table that would define the general framework of democracy in Zaire and that would set up a government of transition, representing all political opinions. It would be charged with organizing the forthcoming elections. In any case this is the position held by Nguza Karl I. Bond, who has called for a sacred union of all democratic, political forces. Karl I. Bond is currently president of the Independent Republicans Party.

Other political groups have gone much further and now demand, as a preliminary step, the resignation from office of President Mobutu. This is what the Unified Lumumba Party [PALU] has stated, which wishes to force Mobutu to leave the government. However, and above all, the UDPS, the Union for Democracy and Social Progress, seems at present to have unified its sense

of direction on the ground and to have adopted very clear positions. Since the return to the country of Marcel Lihau, the national president of the party who came back to Kinshasa on 30 July, a "National Directorate of the UDPS" has been established, led by Lihau, Frederic Kibassa Maliba, Etienne Tshisekedi, and Vincent Mbuankiem.

This directorate has issued a statement emphasizing that the effective departure from office of President Mobutu is an essential condition for the advent of a new era of hope for Zaire. The National Directorate of the UDPS also asks the people of Zaire to rid themselves of "fear" and has issued an appeal to all active Zairian forces to contribute to this era of hope, using all legal means at their disposal. Moreover, several government departments went on strike this week, including officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Environment and Conservation, and Primary and Secondary Education, as well as the civil service directorate, all of them demanding substantial salary increases.

Opposition to the government is also increasing in the Catholic Church. A letter from the bishops was read in all catholic churches in Kinshasa. The expulsion last weekend of Father Guy Verhaegen, a Belgian Jesuit, can be interpreted as an attempt to intimidate the Catholic Church. Elsewhere, when Attorney Nimy, who had succeeded at the time of his television appearance in mobilizing Belgian public opinion unanimously against him, went to France to persuade the French Government to hold the summit meeting of French-speaking countries in Kinshasa, as scheduled, international pressures continued to be heard in favor of holding it in Lubumbashi.

CIRAC, the International Committee for the Respect and Application of the African Charter of Human Rights, of which Zaire is a signatory, has warned that it will make public certain reports on the events in Lubumbashi unless a committee of inquiry is authorized by the Zairian authorities. President Mobutu had stated that the establishment of this committee was out of the question for the sole reason that the Belgians had asked for it. CIRAC, which is an African organization registered in Geneva with the United Nations, wishes to send a delegation to Lubumbashi to undertake an inquiry into the events which took place on the university campus. However, its proposal has still not been accepted.

Kenya

Moi Discusses Tribalism, Multiparty System

EA3007212590 Nairobi Domestic Service in Swahili
1000 GMT 30 Jul 90

["Live relay" of speech by President Daniel arap Moi from Kingoro Stadium in Meru]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] I have often said that our chief enemy is tribalism. I do not oppose those who say: We want two parties. I oppose those who want chaos, those who want two parties before we have achieved long-lasting unity. The day we achieve long-lasting unity, when there will be no skepticism and no minding your friend's business etc.; when daughters can marry whom they like; when they make their friends; that will be when you can do your thing and everybody will know. Now it is a problem and those who advocate a multiparty system do not care.

I tell you Africans, nobody likes you but God. Those who believe otherwise have never had a good dream. You see, even the AIDS drug we discovered—have you heard it publicized abroad for people to hear about it? [Response: "No, no."] Who will publicize anything discovered by an African even if it is good? [applause]

The only things you hear from the Voice of America and the BBC are ugly things intended to stir up discord. They say there is war in Kenya. Is there war here in Meru? [Response: "No."] They say there is war in Meru and riots elsewhere, but we do not see disturbances here or anywhere else. If you Kenyans do not listen well and understand what people are saying, you could be misled by unfair reports. [passage omitted]

Many people abroad seem to care only for some particular big men and not for the little men. During the recent chaos cars and buses were burned, but there is no insurance in such cases to compensate for these losses. They do not care about people's property or that some people even died. Those who initiated these things in the first place say that the lawyers should be released, etc.

Many are misled by such things and are made to think that there is no democracy and that there are no rights in Kenya. If the citizens do what I have told them to do, no one will be deprived of his rights. If a certain law is not observed, it is not my fault or the government's fault. [passage omitted]

I want people to have a voice in their own affairs [applause] so that their affairs can be dealt with. I see some lawyers being defended by 16 defenders when it is the lawyer who has taken the citizens' money. They are the ones who are defended in America and Europe. These people being defended are thieves, while the good citizens—we are at home. It is our responsibility to tell the truth so that it can be heard everywhere and not to let thieves affect our children's lives. [passage omitted]

President Moi Launches Anti-AIDS Drug Kemron

EA2707155090 Nairobi Domestic Service in English
0715 GMT 27 Jul 90

["Live Relay" of speech by President Daniel arap Moi at the Kenyatta International Conference Center in Nairobi]

[Excerpts] Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, as you may recall, during this year's Madaraka Day [1 June], I announced that I would be launching the anti-AIDS drug later in the year. That day has come and it is, therefore, with immense joy that I preside over this auspicious and historic event, in itself a remarkable milestone in the development of science and technology in our land. [passage omitted]

Over the ages, man has, through his unique mental ability and other endowments, realized tremendous achievements for his comfort, welfare, and sustenance of life, but with the advent of the disease AIDS, the clock seems to have been wound backwards, AIDS has struck and assumed epidemic proportions, leaving a trail of death, helplessness, and despair to its victims. It threatens the foundation of human civilization and the existence of mankind, showing how vulnerable man is even with his modern technological advancements.

Ladies and gentlemen, AIDS is a very disturbing, bewildering, and devastating disease. One of its most vicious and horrifying aspects is that, by its very nature of transmission, it strikes mainly at those members of the human society who are economically active and useful, thereby unleashing catastrophic consequences in all fronts of human progress. Nasty as it is, the reality must be squarely faced and all possible solutions sought to combat the disease.

It is commendable the way the global community has risen up to this challenge and continues with resolve to search for a cure for the disease. We are happy to be part of the global campaign in the campaign against AIDS.

As soon as the ravages of the disease became known to us, we embarked on a vigorous campaign through public education and information on one front; clinical surveillance and scientific research on the other to control the spread of the disease. I am gratified that all our efforts in all these fronts have yielded good results.

Today, our national AIDS control program is one of the best programs and a model for many other countries in the world. In the clinical field we continue to monitor closely all those who have tested positive for AIDS as well as to screen all donated blood to ensure that it is free from contamination by the AIDS virus.

On the research front, we are grateful to the Kenya Medical Research Institute (Kemri) for its unique contribution in the development of the anti-AIDS drug, now popularly known as Kemron. When the director of Kemri announced in December last year that Kemri with its collaborators, had developed a drug against AIDS, some people could not believe that a country like Kenya

with its limited resources, had the human resources and the scientific ability for such a breakthrough. We may not have all the resources at our disposal but we have the courage and determination to direct all our energy and talent to a noble cause that serves to improve human life.

In view of wide and closely monitored clinical trials both in Kenya and in other parts of the world, Kemron has proved to be an effective and safe drug in the treatment and management of AIDS. Used correctly, the drug has minimum side effects of no adverse consequences to human life, and arising from the very encouraging and positive results obtained in the clinical trials, my government has already registered the drug for clinical use.

Ladies and gentlemen, the registration of Kemron for clinical use is a very bold and practical move, Kemron may not be the all out cure for AIDS, but, since it has proved to successfully alleviate the signs and symptoms commonly associated with the disease, we would be doing humanity a disservice if we did not act fast enough and make the drug available for those who need it.

A touch of human compassion should embrace any human mission. We cannot, therefore, afford to wait for an eventual cure or perfection of Kemron when thousands of our fellow men, women, and children are suffering from the disease and when by the grace of god we have a drug that alleviates their suffering and gives them a new lease of life.

As I launch the drug, I would like to express my most profound gratitude and appreciations to Kemri, all the institutions and individual scientists who have participated in the development of Kemron. In particular, I would like to thank the Amarillo Cell Culture Company based in Texas and the Hayashibara Biochemical Laboratories of Japan for their invaluable contribution in the development of the drug. [passage omitted]

You have all done a commendable job, but the struggle is not yet over. And I would like to advise everybody not to get loose simply because Kemron is now available. You must not be complacent, but must continue to fight in the noble task of eradicating this dreaded disease.

Even when the most fulsome cure is found, the saying—prevention is better than cure—will continue to be the surest safeguard against infection. I therefore appeal to all Kenyans that even with Kemron being available, they must not take chances but instead should follow the precautionary guidelines routinely issued by the Ministry of Health in order to protect themselves from this scourge.

In health and in sickness, human life is supremely precious. As we continue our determined fight against AIDS we should always show compassion and love to AIDS victims and make them feel accepted in our society. They are our fellow brothers and sisters and we should continue loving and caring for them, well knowing that there is no therapy that surpasses human care and concern.

I hope that the development of Kemron is not an end in itself and that Kemri together with its collaborating institutions will continue with further investigations on the drug and other candidate drugs for the disease. I also hope that the development of Kemron will serve to provoke the scientists the world over to intensify their search for drugs for managing terminal illnesses such as the various forms of cancers.

And I am happy to note that 50 people who were AIDS victims have already been cured although we told you that [words indistinct] [applause] and many more, and we are, as Kenyans, proud because life is so precious if somebody is saved, that is more important than doing some of the things that we see normally.

And I would like also to say developed countries should devote themselves to fighting those things that attack human beings instead of waging war in their media against countries such as Kenya, presenting falsehoods, presenting facts which are not true, feeding the world on things which do not exist.

If they can only help us in that, we will be grateful. We don't have money to mount campaigns through the media to attack others. We have diseases which attack our people so we don't need their attacks. And I am happy to say that we have some of our patients from developed countries here in Kenya. Some are almost about to go back home. Those will be our ambassadors to tell people that Kenya is a good country, Kenya is a peaceful country not as they read in newspapers.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is now my special joy and most pleasant duty to declare the anti-AIDS drug, Kemron, officially launched and that it may now be made available to those in need.

And as the minister for health stated this will not be available in the normal shops. It is only available in the authorized medical institutions which are directed by the director of medical services so that people can take the right doses.

As the minister for health stated, Kenyans are very [laughter] they are very adventurous people. They may try to keep one, give one to the patient which will not cure them, and sell the other to fetch money. So be on the look-out and make sure that you don't fall victim of people of that type.

So, ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much, thank you.

Officials Comment on 'Peace and Stability'

*EA2707125190 Nairobi Domestic Service
in English 1830 GMT 26 Jul 90*

[From the "Day in Parliament" program]

[Excerpts] The Vice President and Minister for Finance Professor George Saitoti today asked all wananchi [citizens] to stand united to defend Kenya's hard-won uhuru [independence] through peace and stability. He said that

if they meddled with the existing stability they would have abused independence. The vice president said this today when moving a motion of adjournment of parliament for about two months. The house will resume on 2 October, 1990.

Prof. Saitoti, who is also the leader of government business in Parliament, said that recent incidents of chaos were aimed at destabilizing Kenya, but all wananchi had stood firm and loyal to President Moi and the government. He said that without peace, many people would die and the country would start begging for food, and he added that Kenya was still independent because it could feed its own people.

Prof. Saitoti thanked the president for maintaining stability and thus enabling Kenya to achieve tremendous progress. He urged members of Parliament to complement the president's efforts and follow in his footsteps. The vice president further asked members of parliament to go back to their constituencies to follow up development projects and not to discuss with wananchi issues related to state security.

Seconding the motion, the Minister for Energy, Mr. Nicholas Biwott, said that the recess had come at the right time when the KANU [Kenya African National Union] review committee was receiving recommendations from wananchi, and he asked members to go back to their constituencies and meet wananchi. The minister paid tribute to President Moi and to the Kenyan police force for maintaining security during the recent disturbances, adding that the state security was vital.

Mr. Biwott, who is also the deputy leader of government business in the house, asked Kenyans to recognize the importance of peace. He asked Kenyans to work hard in order to eradicate poverty. The minister urged leaders to be sensitive to the needs of wananchi. [passage omitted]

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Mr. Wilson Ndolo Ayah told members that they were not defending the country enough. He said this situation left foreigners to create views about Kenya. The minister disclosed that the ministry had recalled the country's ambassadors and high commissioners abroad to hold discussions on how best they could project Kenya's image. [passage omitted]

An assistant minister for information and broadcasting, Al-Haji Shariff Nassir, noted with pride the stand made by Kenyans who had shown that they could not be shaken by anyone. He observed that the country prided itself over a president who had ensured rapid development and a peaceful atmosphere. [passage omitted]

Mr. Nassir noted with concern foreign elements who were out to disrupt peace in the country and called on such people to concentrate their efforts on areas faced with actual problems. [sentence as heard] He added that Kenya had no major problems that needed such assistance. [passage omitted]

An assistant minister for supplies and marketing, Mr. David Mwenje, asked the press attaches in Kenya's embassies abroad to correct the image of the country following the recent incidents of hooliganism in Nairobi and its environs. [passage omitted]

The hostility facing Kenya is due to its discovery of the AIDS drug Kemron and the pioneer Nyayo [footsteps] car. This was said by the minister for technical training and applied technology, Prof. Sam Ongeru. He also asked the international community to respect the values of the Kenyan society.

Supporting the motion, the member for Changamwe Mr. Kennedy Kiliku, said that some leaders' statements had caused more damage to Kenya's image and he asked leader's to gauge their words. [passage omitted]

The motion was passed. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Addresses Recalled Diplomats

EA3007192590 Nairobi KNA in English 1205 GMT
30 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Mombasa, 30th July— The Ninth Biennial Conference of Kenyan heads of mission opened in Mombasa today. The 10-day conference was officially opened by the minister for foreign affairs and international co-operation, Honorable Wilson Ndolo Ayah. According to the minister the 34 Kenyan diplomats had been recalled home for briefing on the current developments taking place in the country and to see for themselves the efforts of wananchi [citizens] in nation-building. Speaking on the global changes and challenges facing the developing world, the minister reminded the ambassadors of their important role in recognising the changes and devising appropriate strategies to manage the changes and fit them in our cultural values without dislocating or jeopardising the established norms. Said the minister: "You as diplomats and envoys abroad representing his excellency the president, the government, and the people of Kenya have a special responsibility to understand thoroughly the thinking of the people of Kenya, their values, personality, and aspiration in order to be able to correctly interpret them and articulate them to the outside world."

On Kenyans who have fallen victim to a well-rehearsed and orchestrated move to tarnish Kenya's image abroad, the minister urged the diplomats to help bring such people to the correct path through persuasion and reasoning. [passage omitted]

Oginga Odinga Urges Government To Stand Down

AB2707223790 Paris AFP in English 1641 GMT
27 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Nairobi, July 27 (AFP)—A former vice-president called for an interim government to replace Kenya's one-party "dictatorship" as President Daniel arap Moi on Friday [27 Jul] accused the West of waging war on Kenya through the media. Oginga Odinga, in the

strongest attack on Mr. Moi's rule since bloody anti-government riots erupted on July 7, accused the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU), of imposing a "dictatorship of the party."

Kenyans were dissatisfied with the government which had shown itself to be "an establishment of political gangsters," and wanted multi-party democracy, he said. He urged the government to step down in favor of a transitional coalition that would draft a new constitution and organise free elections.

"When the time comes that the government has to use arms against its citizens, that is clear evidence of its unpopularity," Mr. Odinga said in an open letter to the president Thursday. The unrest this month left 22 dead. The veteran leftwing politician blasted the government for its "fascist" action in detaining Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia, two former cabinet ministers who called for a multi-party system, "for speaking out their minds and for pointing out injustices."

"If detention without trial is not right in South Africa, it cannot have a basis in a free and supposedly democratic republic like Kenya," he said. Mr. Odinga's son Raila is among those recently detained. Mr. Odinga himself, who resigned as vice-president in 1966, was detained for 15 months in 1969 and 1970 after his Kenya People's Union was banned. He was placed under house arrest after an abortive 1982 coup against Mr. Moi.

In his open letter, he dismissed Mr. Moi's promise to reform KANU and review the system of "queue voting" for the nomination of members of Parliament under which voters line up behind their chosen candidates as "too little, too late."

Nothing short of a multi-party system was acceptable, he said, blasting the government as "an establishment of political gangsters" which was turning a blind eye to "the fall of despotic regimes in Eastern Europe" and choosing "to follow an authoritarian and monolithic system."

Meanwhile Mr. Moi, who has not responded publicly to Mr. Odinga's letter, renewed his attacks on foreign powers for "waging war in their media against countries such as Kenya." Mr. Moi has frequently criticized the foreign and local press. Speaking at the commercial launching of Kenya's controversial anti-AIDS drug Kemron, Mr. Moi said developed countries would do better to channel their efforts into helping mankind instead of "feeding the world lies about Kenya." [passage omitted]

Mr. Odinga also assailed the government over the mysterious murder of foreign minister Robert Ouko in February, which sparked riots in which seven people were killed. "The brutal murder of Dr. Robert Ouko and the detention without trial (of the six opposition figures) come as a last straw." The government expressed outrage last weekend at a British newspaper article quoting diplomatic sources as saying that a Scotland Yard report on Dr. Ouko's death would implicate his fellow cabinet ministers and security forces.

Lawyer Charged With Sedition After Article

EA2807075590 Nairobi Domestic Service in English
1600 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] Mr. Gitobu Imanyara, a lawyer who was released from detention only yesterday, was today charged before a Nairobi court with having published a seditious publication, the NAIROBI LAW MONTHLY magazine, with an item entitled: The Historic Debate. Mr. Imanyara, who is also the editor-in-chief of the magazine, is also charged with having failed to deliver to the registrar of books and magazines the annual return prescriptions of the firm in accordance with section eight, sub-section one of Books and Newspaper Act, chapter 111 in the laws of Kenya.

He was represented by a Nairobi lawyer, Mr. Pherojee Nowrojee, and he was not required to plead to the charge. The state was represented by two state counsels, Mr. Duncan Mwanjumba, and Mr. Philip Mugo, who, after hearing the case, strongly objected to the granting of bail to Mr. Imanyara, arguing that he might interfere with the investigation, which is still in progress.

Uganda

UPA Commander Killed in Soroti District

AB2707231090 Paris AFP in English 1925 GMT
27 Jul 90

[By Eppajar Ojullu]

[Text] Kampala, July 27 (AFP)—One of the most senior rebel commanders in eastern Uganda was killed early this week as the government launched a new offensive to contain growing rebel activities in the region's Soroti District, the official NEW VISION newspaper reported here Friday [27 Jul]. The paper said the Ugandan People's Army (UPA) commander Joseph Oronya died when a National Resistance Army (NRA) raiding party moved in on a public rally being addressed by the rebels at Kelim, 30 kilometres (20 miles) south of Soroti town. The rebel commander was killed instantly by a hand grenade, NRA brigade commander Major Walter Ochora confirmed.

Commander Oronya had become something of a legend in Soroti District following his narrow escapes in two separate incidents when his bodyguards were killed. His death could mark the end of his Solar Brigade, which had been giving government troops a lot of headaches in the northern part of Soroti District.

But despite of his death, Soroti District is still in a state of panic following a new upsurge of violence, in which over 70 people have reportedly been killed in the past three weeks alone. Two weeks ago rebels raided the home of a senior NRA officer, Lieutenant-Colonel J.J. Odong, and killed nine members of his family.

Other reports indicated that Soroti District has now been invaded [by] rebel forces from neighboring northern districts of Kumi, Gulu and Kitgum following an intensification of NRA operations in the areas. NEW VISION reported that local people in Soroti District had also confirmed the presence of rebels of the Ugandan People's Democratic Army (UPDA) in their villages, which were apparently commanded by a Major Banya. During the past three weeks, rebels have mounted a wave of killings in the district aimed at elimination local leaders and chiefs.

NEW VISION quoted Major Ochora as saying the NRA initially withdrew its units from the villages in response to the influx of rebels. But the pull-out had resulted in more deaths of local leaders. In Asuret sub-county, just eight kilometres (five miles) outside Soroti town, eight local leaders have been killed.

"Many other leaders have been killed in Serere, Kasilo and Amuria counties, while others have had their ears chopped off," NEW VISION reported. As a result, hundreds of people had fled from the villages into Soroti town to seek protection.

The NRA has launched a major operation in Soroti District, commandeering hundreds of lorries belonging to schools and other government institutions in the region to ferry troops to the area of fighting. Two weeks ago, the chairman of the Uganda People's Democratic Movement (PDM), the political wing of the UPDA, former Ugandan Prime Minister Otema Allimadi, signed a peace accord in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, with President Yoweri Museveni's government seeking to end fighting between them. However, his military commanders, led by Colonel Owiny who also lives in London, rejected the accord and pledged to continue the fighting.

De Klerk Notes Mandela, Slovo Remarks; Problems

*MB3007182790 Johannesburg Television Service
in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 30 Jul 90*

[Text] In a statement issued by the state president this evening, and which we have just received, Mr. F. W. de Klerk says he has taken note of the statements by Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. Joe Slovo that they have committed themselves to the continuation of a peaceful negotiation process.

Mr. De Klerk says, however, that this has not removed all the problems. Several matters which the government views as serious will still have to be cleared up.

Mr. De Klerk added that, in the light of the proposed talks on Wednesday [1 Aug] between himself and Mr. Mandela, he believes that further comment at this stage is undesirable.

He said that the normal judicial processes will, nevertheless, continue.

Marais: Repeal of Group Areas Act Likely in 1991

*MB3007135190 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1342 GMT 30 Jul 90*

[Text] Durban July 30 SAPA—The government is likely to repeal the group areas act early next year, Deputy Minister of Finance Org Marais said on Monday [30 Jul].

Dr. Marais was speaking at the 26th annual conference of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, SABC radio news reports.

He said there were no specific restrictions barring the land bank from making land available to black people.

Red tape could be eliminated by ensuring there was no duplication of regulations, and one of the long-term solutions to South Africa's problems was greater black participation in the economy.

Dr. Marais said the role of the police and the courts needed to be redefined.

Socio-economic problems had resulted in political upheavals and unemployment was a major contributor. He said 900 jobs a day would have to be created to solve the black unemployment situation.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Departs 29 Jul

*MB2907150790 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1100 GMT 29 Jul 90*

[Text] The Portuguese minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Joao de Deus Pinheiro, says the world must not turn its back on South Africa because this country is far too important for the development of southern Africa.

Dr. Pinheiro, who left Jan Smuts Airport for Namibia this morning, said the international community had to support South Africa to enable it to contribute to the

development of full democracy in Africa. During his visit, Dr. Pinheiro held talks with President F.W. de Klerk, cabinet ministers, the deputy president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, and the president of Inkatha, Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The South African minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, said at the same occasion that Portugal could play an important role in southern Africa and that the South African Government welcomed Portugal's positive involvement in peace initiatives in Angola and Mozambique.

He said African leaders had begun to realize that the old-style communism was dead and that they had to create opportunities for multiparty democratic systems. If they could not do so, Europe would bypass Africa.

Poll Shows De Klerk's White Support Wavering

*MB3007132390 Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English
26 Jul 90 p 5*

[Text] Caution should be exercised in reading over-optimistic interpretations of opinion polls showing substantial white support for President F.W. de Klerk, a market research company, Research Surveys, warned yesterday.

It said its monthly polls which are conducted door-to-door among 800 adult women and 500 adult men, show that white support for President de Klerk is divided and wavering, and that it is also sensitive to events.

They show that Mr. de Klerk's standing among Afrikaans-speaking whites plummeted in the early months of 1990, but in May and June he recovered enough Afrikaner support to enjoy the confidence of more than half the white population. They also indicate increasing support for the CP [Conservative Party]—27 percent of women and 33 percent of men in May this year—and a sharp drop in DP [Democratic Party] support—6 percent of women and 5 percent of men.

While 34 percent of white women and 42 percent of white men said in May they would vote for the NP [National Party] if an election were called, 26 percent of the women and 11 percent of the men said they did not know, and 5 percent of both men and women said they would not vote.

The polls indicate significant regional differences. In the PWV [Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging] area, male support for Mr. De Klerk dropped from 52 percent to 40 percent but in the Cape it rose from 56 percent to 70 percent.

The April poll indicated that Mr. De Klerk had more support among Afrikaans-speakers in the rural areas than in the cities.

Mandela Discusses ANC-SACP Relations

*MB2907145290 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1100 GMT 29 Jul 90*

[Text] Nelson Mandela has insisted that talks with the government will continue. Speaking at the relaunch of the Communist Party at Soccer City outside Johannesburg, Mandela also insisted the ANC [African National Congress] is not a communist party. David O'Sullivan is at the rally:

[O'Sullivan] Nelson Mandela insisted talks with the government must take place under peaceful conditions. He said police violence, as well as black and white vigilante violence, must end, and he challenged the government, saying if it was genuine about peace, it would bring about this result. He called on the government to stop creating obstacles to talks by whipping up anticommunist hysteria.

Mandela told a crowd of over 15,000 people the ANC is not a communist party but, as a defender of democracy, it will fight for the SACP's [South African Communist Party] right to exist. He said the relationship between the two has endured because SACP boss Joe Slovo understood the ANC was an independent body.

SACP Announces Names of Internal Leadership

*MB2907130790 Johannesburg SABA in English
1247 GMT 29 Jul 90*

[By David Greybe and Andrew Lefoka]

[Text] Johannesburg July 29 SABA—More than 45,000 gave a tumultuous welcome to leaders of the SA Communist Party [SACP], African National Congress [ANC] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance at the relaunch of the SACP on Sunday [29 July] at Soccer City near Soweto.

At the rally attended by ANC Deputy President Mr. Nelson Mandela and other senior members of the ANC, and United Democratic Front the SACP announced the names of its internal leadership.

As senior ANC and SACP member Ms. Cheryl Carolus announced the names of the internal leadership of the SACP members, the crowd roared its approval.

Among the names were SACP General Secretary Joe Slovo; SACP Chairman Dan Tloome; ANC Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] chief and SACP member Chris Hani; and former ANC intelligence chief and SACP veteran Ronnie Kasrills, who made a surprise appearance at the rally despite been wanted [as received] by the police for involvement in an alleged conspiracy to overthrow the government.

Other SACP Central Committee members announced as internal leaders are John Nkadimeng, former South

African MP representing blacks Mr. Brian Bunting who was banned in 1953 and who went into exile in 1965. [sentence as received]

Two SACP members detained last week key organiser Mac Maharaj and ANC Billie Nair were among the leadership names. [sentence as received]

Poet activist Jeremy Cronin and three top COSATU unionists: Assistant General Secretary Sydney Mufamadi, Vice President Chris Dhlamini and NUMSA [National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa] General Secretary Moses Mayekiso were announced as internal leaders. ANC National Executive Committee member Reg September and former Robben Islanders and veteran communists Ahmed Kathrada, who heads the ANC's Directorate of Information, Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba, were also named.

Also named as part of the 22 strong internal leadership corps are ANC membership recruitment officer for the Midlands, and SACP stalwart Harry Gwala, and ANC National Executive Committee members Aysop Pahad and Sizakele Sigxashele.

A ray of light in the trade union movement Ms. Ray Alexander, John Gomomo and a leader of the struggle in the Cape and senior ANC member Ms. Cheryl Carolus were also named as members of the SACP internal leadership corps.

Notes Revealed From Tongaat Meeting

*MB3007174190 Johannesburg SABA in English
1522 GMT 30 Jul 90*

[By Raphael Banda]

[Text] Johannesburg July 30 SABA—The South African Communist Party [SACP] on Monday [30 Jul] revealed what it said were the minutes of the secret meeting at which the government alleges the SACP hatched an insurrection plot in the eventuality of negotiations collapsing.

The document was released at a news conference in Johannesburg only days before the government and the African National Congress [ANC] are due to hold a second round of talks.

It also comes a day after the SACP re-emerged as a legal political party after decades of underground operations.

The document, released to further counter the government allegations, clearly lays out the guidelines for the consolidation of the Communist Party and the reshaping of its relationship with the ANC, UDF [United Democratic Front] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions].

No mention of the insurrection is made in the minutes.

The alleged insurrectionary meeting, in Tongaat, Natal, recognised that the changed "situation...requires that the

possibilities offered by negotiations should be explored to the fullest, while not abandoning" the armed struggle, the document said.

A Johannesburg newspaper claimed it had computer print-outs of evidence that the meeting had planned to smuggle arms into the country for the alleged revolt.

"We wish to set the record straight in regard to a number of serious and deliberate distortions in the information the police have been leaking to the media," Ms. Cheryl Carolous, a member of the newly-announced interim committee of the SACP, told the news conference.

"The Tongaat meeting never discussed the movement of arms into the country, arms caches, or any other related military operational details."

She said the meeting was consultative and had taken no decisions.

"It is clear that some of the elements in the government are still unable to live with the fact that the SACP is unbanned," Ms. Carolous told reporters. She also reiterated that SACP General Secretary Joe Slovo was not present at the meeting.

The document also reveals sACP fears the struggle against apartheid was losing momentum as attention focused on negotiations.

"The spark is being lost. While we need to exploit the negotiation process, we must avoid the danger of suffocating the mass struggle. We need to galvanise people into action again," the document containing the minutes says. The central political demands of our mass campaigns should be for the vote, for an interim government, for a democratically elected constituent assembly, and for a redistribution of the land and wealth."

The meeting recommended, among others, that the SACP assert its independence from other organisations and that its constitution would have to be amended to allow for more internal democracy. "The relationship between the party and fraternal organisations must change," the document says. "The time had come for the party to assert its independence and its own identity," the document says. As the party began its life as a legal party it "should practise full internal democracy. "This involves changes to the present (party) constitution."

CP Leader Says De Klerk Must Cancel Talks

MB3007160290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1555 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] Pretoria July 30 SAPA—President F.W. de Klerk was morally obliged to cancel next weeks talks between government and the African National Congress [ANC] following Nelson Mandela's public support for Joe Slovo, the Conservative Party [CP] said on Monday [30 Jul].

The leader of the CP, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, said if Mr. de Klerk allowed the talks to go ahead it would be an

insult to the SA [South African] Police, which had revealed the existence of "Operation Vula", which in turn had shown the ANC's partners were not interested in a negotiated settlement but only the transfer of power.

"Now that it is known that President de Klerk has put it to the ANC deputy president, Mr. Mandela, that Mr. Slovo, the SACP [South African Communist Party] secretary general should not be part of the ANC delegation to the talks, and Mr. Mandela had disregarded the request, Mr. de Klerk dare not now allow Mr. Mandela to score another victory over him."

He said the police revelations had shown Operation Vula was a greater threat to the state than Operation Mayibuye, which was revealed in the Rivonia trial in 1962. "Negotiations between the state president and the ANC should in these circumstances be out of the question," Dr. Treurnicht said in a statement made available to SAPA.

BWB Calls For De Klerk, Botha Resignations

MB3107042190 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2038 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] Johannesburg July 30 SAPA—The ultra-right group, the Boere Weerstand Beweging [BWB—Boer Resistance Movement], on Monday [30 Jul] lashed out at President F.W. de Klerk for allowing the SACP [South African Communist Party] to be relaunched, saying a "communist dictatorship" was on the menu for South Africa.

In a statement faxed to SAPA from Ficksburg, the organisation also called for the immediate resignation of the state president and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, charging they were unaware of the history of violence perpetrated by the ANC [African National Congress] and the SACP.

"Had you been a capable leader, you would have immediately withdrawn from the negotiations and taken (Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] Chief of Staff) Chris Hani's challenge (to seize power if negotiations failed), thus proving that you are still in control," said the BWB.

The right wing group also warned Mr. Hani the Boer nation would not be ruled by communists.

"We won the bush war once and if you want to go back to the bush, we will win it again. The Boers will not be governed by communist thugs, they will govern themselves in their own Boerestaat," concluded the statement.

The BWB also said the "ANC/National Party Alliance" was not in control of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"We Boers have fought many enemies and we are prepared to pay the supreme price for our Boer republics. Take our advice (Hani) and go back to Umtata, and we hope there's still enough bush left in the Transkei to hide Winnie Mandela," said the BWB.

SADF Official Linked to CCB, Renamo Support

*MB3107074090 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0700 GMT 31 Jul 90*

[Text] South Africa's new Defense Force chief has strong links to dirty tricks squads. Lieutenant General Kat Liebenberg is to take over the highest military post on the retirement of General Jannie Gendenhuis on 1 November. Liebenberg was in charge of the two units which preceded the CCB [Civil Cooperation Bureau], known as Barnacle, and D-40. He was also in charge of the CCB for a while after its formation.

When Liebenberg was head of the Special Forces, he was in command of the operations to give clandestine support to Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels in Mozambique.

SACP Prospects After Unbanning Reviewed

*MB2807103390 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR
in English 28 Jul 90 p 9*

[Text] The South African Communist Party [SACP], which holds its first public rally in 40 years tomorrow, has travelled a long, hard and circuitous route to its present position as a de facto interlocutor at the negotiating table.

In an astonishing turn of events since the SACP was outlawed 40 years ago, its general secretary, Joe Slovo, is again included in the African National Congress [ANC] negotiating team for the scheduled August 6 talks.

President de Klerk is trying to exclude Mr. Slovo from the talks following the discovery of an alleged communist plot to seize power if the negotiations fail or do not turn out to the SACP's satisfaction.

Even if Mr. de Klerk prevails upon the ANC to drop Mr. Slovo, the SACP will still have a presence at the negotiating table. The ties between the SACP and the ANC are so close that the SACP will be represented, whatever the precise composition of the ANC delegation.

The SACP, however, took several wrong turnings in its protracted journey to the brink of power and, in the view of its opponents, it may be about to take its followers and its ANC ally into another cul de sac.

The SACP is today a tireless champion of the oppressed and of racial equality. But in 1922, during the bloody Rand Rebellion, it sided with white mine workers against the mining companies under the racist slogan "Workers of the world united and fight for a white South Africa."

The SACP emerged as a trenchant opponent of apartheid long before it became a fashionable cause. It espoused the idea of a "Native Republic" in South Africa a few years after the 1922 rebellion, thus anticipating the bantustan policy adopted by the ruling National Party by nearly three decades.

Whether the SACP is out of kilter again in prescribing socialism as the answer to South Africa's economic and social ills in the 1990s is hotly debated.

Where communist parties in the rest of world are on the retreat after the upheavals in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union itself, the SACP, sensing the possibility of power, is on the advance. Its buoyant optimism is summed up in the title of its revised programme: "The Path to Power."

Where many communist parties have hastily abandoned the once proud label "communist" in an attempt to distance themselves from the tyrannies associated with communism in Eastern Europe, the SACP still proudly proclaims itself to be a communist party.

It must be, remarks Ronnie Kasrils, former intelligence chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the army of the SACP and its ANC ally, one of the few communist parties whose flag still contains the hammer and sickle.

The SACP is more than an anachronism in an age where socialism appears to have lost the battle against capitalism in key parts of the world.

After surviving for 40 years as an underground party—it was banned in 1950 under the Suppression of Communism Act—the SACP is re-surfacing as a potentially powerful but still largely unknown force to many South Africans.

The SACP boasts that "our party and what it stands for are more popular today than at any time in our 69-year history." It is a boast which cannot be dismissed as idle.

Its underground existence forced it to become a highly secretive organisation, causing some political observers to compare it to the subterranean Afrikaner Broederbond [Brotherhood] and to accuse it of manipulating the ANC in some way as the Broederbond is thought to control the ruling National Party. But, promises Mr. Slovo, the party has no intention of functioning as a Broederbond within the ANC or as a secret organisation.

In the relatively free atmosphere of post-February 2 South Africa, created by President de Klerk's decision to unban the SACP, Mr. Slovo says: "We intend moving towards a situation where every communist will be proud to acknowledge they are members of the party."

He adds a caveat: "We cannot yet abandon (all) the levels of our underground because the process of democratisation is not yet irreversible."

The first installment of the SACP's pledge to "go public" will be delivered tomorrow at a rally in Soweto, when it will disclose the names of its internal interim leadership as distinct from those of its central committee members.

Even that partial disclosure will be a leap forward into the age of glasnost. Very few details are known about the SACP's leadership. With one or two exceptions, the

names of its central committee members remain secret. Mr. Slovo is one exception. Dan Tloome, the SACP chairman, is another.

When political observers assemble at Soccer City in Soweto for the rally, together with "the masses," they will be seeking answers—or even partial answers—to several critical questions.

One concerns the identity of its leaders. A second focuses on the strength of the SACP within the ANC. A third relates to the SACP's appeal on the ground.

A fourth seeks to probe the sincerity of the SACP's apparently sudden acceptance of multiparty democracy, a notion which many SACP leaders, nurtured on the authoritarian traditions of Stalin and Brezhnev, once, contemptuously dismissed as "bourgeois democracy."

Observers seeking to identify the central committee membership will be disappointed. There will be no disclosure, Mr. Slovo cautions, until the SACP's 70th anniversary congress next year and then only if the "process of democratisation" is judged to have gone far enough to make disclosure safe.

It follows that the exact strength of the SACP in the ANC will remain imponderable until the names of its central committee are known and one can run a check list against the names of the ANC national executive.

Until then, however, observers and the public generally will have to make do with various estimates.

The British publication *Africa Confidential* reckons that 27 of the 35-member national executive are SACP members. A 1986 American State Department report calculates that about half the national executive are communists.

The South African government assessment puts the proportion at about two-thirds.

Whatever the exact situation, the SACP is undoubtedly strategically positioned within the ANC, particularly because of its joint command with the ANC of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Soccer City rally will serve as a barometer—of sorts—to the SACP's mass appeal.

If the rally flops, the omens will certainly not be good for SACP's declared ambition of transforming itself from a small vanguard party into a broader movement.

But even if the rally attracts a capacity crowd of 100,000, observers will have the problem of deciding what proportion of the crowd are committed SACP supporters, as against ANC members showing their loyalty to an ally which stood by them during the dark years when the ANC was banned and its leaders in exile or jail.

One point can be made emphatically, however. The SACP is the first party founded by whites to attract a large black membership. The bulk of its members are black according to the SACP leadership.

Judging from the skin colour of the people who defiantly raised the SACP flag at the height of the township rebellion of 1984-86—and who have raised it since—the official SACP estimate that 70 percent of its members are black is not an exaggeration.

Black people not only joined the SACP: They also died for its cause in the guerilla war which started soon after the banning of the ANC in 1960 and the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961.

A special rally issue of the SACP journal, *UMSEBENZI*, proudly records: "Communists (were) in the front rank of the struggle. No sacrifice was too much. More than 100 members lost their lives on the gallows, in police cells and in battle with the enemy."

Judging from the names of communists who lost their lives in "the struggle," which was published in an earlier edition of *UMSEBENZI*, the overwhelming majority of those who died were black.

Some of the best-known communists have been black men and women: the legendary, in communist circles, J. B. Marks and Moses Jotane; J. Nkosi, Dora Tamane and Moses Mabhida; Govan Mbeki, the first of the men imprisoned with Nelson Mandela in 1964 to be released and Tloome the present SACP chairman.

Assessment of the SACP's actual and potential strength has to take account of the growth of trade unionism among black workers. It is there that the SACP's natural constituency lies.

It is significant rather than coincidental that the SACP's first press conference since it was unbanned was held at the headquarters of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, South Africa's biggest trade union federation.

The disclosure of the names of the SACP's internal leadership and of those of its central committee members at a later date will facilitate accurate appraisal of its strength in the trade union movement.

Of particular interest to South Africans ensconced in executive positions of the giant corporations will be whether either list includes Cyril Ramaphosa, the able and cool-headed general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, South Africa's biggest trade union.

The most important question to ordinary citizens, however, is whether the SACP has really discarded its Stalinist post.

In a position paper, published in January, Mr. Slovo admits that the SACP must accept its share of responsibility "for the spread of Stalin cult." He acknowledges, too, that the "pernicious habit" of branding those who do not agree with the party as the "enemies of socialism" has not yet been excised from its ranks.

He ends by proclaiming the SACP's commitment to the fundamental freedoms of liberal or bourgeois democracy—freedoms of speech, thought, movement, organisation and so on—and pledges to uphold multiparty democracy in post-apartheid South Africa.

In a fascinating article in the journal TRANSFORMATION, Pallo Jordan, the ANC's secretary for information, accuses Mr. Slovo of glossing too lightly over the SACP's Stalinist past.

He criticises the SACP leadership of having "produced a spirit of intolerance, petty intellectual thuggery and political dissembling among its leaders". He calls for an "unsparing interrogation" of the Stalinist past as the only way to salvage hope for the future "from the existing tragedy of socialism."

Dr Jordan, one of the ANC's really incisive thinkers, ought to know what he is talking about.

According to AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL, he was detained for eight weeks in June 1983 as a dissident by a high-ranking ANC-SACP apparatchik for daring to raise his voice against abuse of power by ANC security officials.

He was released and exonerated after the intervention of ANC president Oliver Tambo and rose to eminence in the ANC in later years.

Some board room observers may see in Dr. Jordan's criticism of Mr. Slovo's paper a sign that socialism is being rejected from within the ANC. They will be wrong.

Dr. Jordan's critique is made in the name of socialism and in the best tradition of democratic Marxism.

Profile of ANC Military Chief of Staff Hani

MB2907123790 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 29 Jul 90 p 15

["Hani the Hawk, Hani the Dove," by Matthew Moonieya]

[Text] Is Chris Hani a rampant revolutionary or a prophet of peace?

The question has been raised following speeches by the Chief of Staff of the military wing of the African National Congress [ANC], Umkhonto we Sizwe, in Transkei this week.

It is a question which goes deep into the dynamics of a negotiated settlement between F.W. de Klerk's Government and the ANC, a question which will terminate the chances for a peaceful transition or continued bloody violence which would make the bombs of the 1980s pale into insignificance.

Negotiation and armed insurrection are both very much part of the vocabulary of the 48-year-old St. Mark's district-born Hani—his real name is Martin Thembisile Hani—and to understand him needs a fine tuning into the historical perspective of the struggle for liberation as well as the enormous odds at stake in South Africa today.

Chris Hani puts his mastery of the English language—he's an English and Latin major from Fort Hare University—in lucid off-the-cuff speeches to show an unwavering commitment to his struggle, while acknowledging that in any liberation struggle a point is reached where negotiation must take place.

He puts it this way: "I have many images portrayed of myself by the bourgeoisie press. Africa Confidential has used many epithets to describe me.

"I am supposed to be a hardliner, I am supposed to be irrepressible, I am supposed to represent a line in our movement which is opposed to negotiation," says the commander.

Politically, Chris Hani was introduced to repressive rule at an early age. His migrant-worker father was banished from St. Marks district in Transkei by former Chief Minister Kaizer Matanzima for political activities.

The young Chris had his political baptism of fire in the ANC Youth League at Fort Hare and skipped the country in 1962 while an articled clerk in Cape Town.

This week his speeches in Transkei reflected a new sophistication in both his official posturing and some of his thinking on important issues:

On the ANC leadership: "There is no Hani position or a Thabo Mbeki position. We are guided by democratic and collective decision-making. If Thabo was talking here to you, he would be saying the same things I am saying to you," says Hani.

The armed struggle: "We are living at a time pregnant with deep changes and our presence on the soil of South Africa is but one of the changes I am referring to.

"They are changes brought about through the endeavours of the struggling masses. The balance of power has shifted in favour of the people and the momentum of struggle must be kept alive.

"We have forced the regime to unwillingly recognise the legitimacy of our struggle. Today we speak on behalf of an unbanned ANC. This victory is not the result of a willing ruling class....

"When we decided in 1961 to embark on armed struggle it was a difficult decision. When I decided to join MK I could not use a gun or explosives. We had to go into laboratories to learn to manufacture home-made bombs and go to the north for military training.

"As far back as 1961 when we started planting those explosives at soft targets we moved from that position of using primitive weapons.

"We have used the AK, the bazooka. We blasted a major oil installation of the enemy using an advanced rocket. We forced them to recognise there was an armed struggle and to deploy their forces throughout the borders of our country.

"This armed struggle has been central in inspiring our people to strike against the enemy. It is the result of this struggle that our leaders have been released. That is victory for the ANC."

Hani argues that a serious liberation movement can never dismiss a chance to negotiate and that armed struggle should not be romanticised.

When you plan an operation, you always agonise over whether all your men will come back alive. It is the task of a good commander to plan meticulously to reduce casualties. We have had serious casualties and some parents will not see their children return.

"I was forced unwillingly to address concerned parents and tell them that their dear sons and daughters will not be coming back. It is very very painful.

"If there is a chance to ensure the preservation of life it must be used. That is not surrender.

"We have not surrendered. We are deploying our reserve forces and we are still recruiting to continue the armed struggle because we cannot leave the fate of our people in the hands of de Klerk."

Transfer of power: Hani says it is important to recognise the basis of the ANC's victory, for them to consolidate and move forward until they reach their objective: the transfer of power from a minority to a majority, a transfer which is still fraught with variables.

"This transfer of power will come about because of a number of factors but it might be possible that we will have to seize power if the regime is not prepared to negotiate it peacefully."

He says armed struggle is not the only form of struggle.

"Our strategies revolve around mass action : our people. Apartheid is still intact and repression still continues. We cannot expose all our strategies of struggle to the enemy."

The "enemy": "There is no guarantee that the enemy may not go back to the old days of repression and we must be able, using our underground struggle and our military formations, to teach the enemy a good lesson."

That is his reasoning for not abandoning the armed struggle and he says South Africa is passing through a revolutionary situation in which the people are no longer prepared to live under an oppressive apartheid regime.

Hani explains: "Their task is merely the preparation of a constituent assembly which will draw up a new constitution.

"Meanwhile we will remain in our barracks training and recruiting. If there is a breakdown in negotiations, we will then step up all forms of armed struggle, and give the enemy a lesson it must not forget.

"We have to use this space and time creatively and seriously because the battle is not over for us.

"The battles of the people must rage while negotiations take place. They must demand the constituent assembly and one person one vote.

"They must create a climate where the regime must know there is no going backward, that it cannot refuse to surrender to the demands of the people."

That is the image Chris Hani portrays: a militant revolutionary wedded to socialism yet committed to a Christian-like concern for the preservation of life.

There is a struggle being waged against the regime which has resorted to a state of emergency, he says.

Social transformation: Chris Hani rejects independence when it merely revolves around a constitution, flags and a national anthem.

He argues that there must be real social transformation with an equitable distribution of resources. Socialism for him is the panacea for humanity despite turbulence in the socialist world.

"Countries freed from colonialism face new challenges today and from a study of dialectics, we learn that there will always be contradictions. Without it there will be no development.

"We too have our contradictions, antagonistic as well as non-antagonistic ones as we grapple to build a new South Africa. Some will argue that the way forward is via capitalism others will say we must build socialism because what is happening in the socialist world is not an example for us.

"The socialism which prevents the exploitation of one person by another remains the future of humanity."

He says: "We must work out how best to build socialism in our country.

"We cannot perceive a system where a minority of rich people dictate to our people because of the resources they command. Then our struggle would have been meaningless."

Negotiations: While committed to the armed struggle, he says he is equally committed to a peacefully negotiated settlement.

But that must be done from a position of strength.

"What then has made de Klerk say he is committed to negotiation, whether he is genuine or not? It is because their policies have collapsed. And some elements of the ruling class questioned the morality of their policies which were not in the interests of South Africa's future."

But above all for Chris Hani it is the twin forces of the struggle of the People's Army and the masses within South Africa.

"As we negotiate, we want to do so from a position of political and military strength. We must be prepared if the enemy goes back and negotiations fail."

Negotiation had not yet begun and they were merely discussing removals of obstacles to negotiation.

"We will sit down with the regime and say: Let us conclude a ceasefire."

He has one proviso: "The regime must confine its forces to barracks and MK will confine its forces to its invisible barracks. We will then wait for new orders from our leadership."

"We are saying that an interim government must not sit for more than 18 months."

Evidence of 'Major Blunder' on Slovo Claims

MB3007115790 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 30 Jul 90 p 4

[By Alan Fine and Billy Paddock]

[Text] Strong evidence is emerging that state security analysts may have made a major blunder on the "Slovo affair" which could embarrass President F.W. de Klerk and his government as severely as did the mistaken allegations about a SWAPO [South-West African People's Organisation] invasion of Namibia last November.

Intelligence community heads now face the task of explaining away possible examples of sloppy and presumptuous analysis on which de Klerk based his demand to ANC [African National Congress] deputy president Nelson Mandela that SACP [South African Communist Party] chief Joe Slovo be dropped from the ANC delegation for the August 6 talks with government.

The analysis placed Slovo at an SACP consultative conference meeting in Tongaat on May 19 and 20, by assuming the Comrade Joe in the minutes referred to Slovo.

And Slovo, government maintained, was negotiating in bad faith because he did not regard the SACP as being bound by any ceasefire negotiated between it and the ANC.

The Slovo crisis arose when government was handed a security briefing with the following extract: "Those who do not sign the ceasefire are not bound by the terms of it. We are fighting the regime and its subsidiary forces. In a ceasefire there will be these two parties (ANC en regering) [and government] who will agree on some things—Joe Slovo." This was, in part, a quote from the minutes of the Tongaat meeting.

The same briefing—said to have been used as the basis of Foreign Minister Pik Botha's meeting with senior diplomats 10 days ago and de Klerk's meeting with Mandela on Thursday [26 Jul] night—contained details of the so-called Operation Vula launched in 1987 which included, among other things, the infiltration of arms into South Africa.

The phrase in parenthesis—ANC en regering, or ANC and government—does not appear in the original minutes and were clearly added, presumably as clarification by the security analysts. The other difference is the speaker is identified in the minutes not as Joe Slovo but simply as Comrade Joe.

Slovo denies he was presented at the Tongaat meeting, and has shown BUSINESS DAY his UN travel document to substantiate his claim. This shows he left the country on May 14 and returned on May 21.

At the weekend Slovo said the police were either deliberately trying to upset the negotiation process or they were incompetent and had not done their basic homework.

Both ANC leader Walter Sisulu and Joes Slovo said the Comrade Joe referred to in the minutes was one Joe Magusa, apparently an internal member of the SACP.

The second area where the security analysis is questionable is in the way that the context of the remarks were ignored.

Slovo does not deny that the minutes may be accurate, but says the remarks by Comrade Joe about the SACP not being bound by a ceasefire were clearly made in the context of the discussion on the Natal violence.

Comrade Joe appears to be discussing whether a ceasefire affected the right of the "people on the ground" to "defend themselves" against the Natal "warlords."

The minuted discussion in that part of the meeting went as follows:

Comrade Maggie: Agreed with negotiations taking place—very often though, the people do not know what is going on. We are not the first people to present the issues to the community. We do not present our perception to the people. The masses do not know what is going on and their only source of information is the commercial media.

Comrade Kisa: On the issue of ceasefire and the violence on the ground. This can be a bit confusing to people on the ground when there is a ceasefire. What happens when the warlords continue attacking us.

Chair: While the ceasefire happens nationally the people on the ground have to continue to be on the attack and eliminate the warlords and the councillors.

Comrade Joe: Those who do not sign the ceasefire, are not bound by the terms of it. We are fighting the regime and its subsidiary forces and from our side it is our forces. In a ceasefire it will be these two parties who will agree on some things.

On the ground if you are attacked by the warlords, you have to defend yourselves. We are fighting an irregular war and the regime is using people in civilian clothing to come and attack our people.

Comrade Kisa: That perspective about the right to defend ourselves, in spite of a cease(fire), must filter downward.

Comrade Mpo: This perspective must also be filtered through, go to the leadership—TERROR is out of order in calling for the disarming of MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe; ANC military wing] when the ZP [kwaZulu Police] lay down their arms.

Comrade Cherry: Our people do not understand the terminology that we are using. We have to define these terms very clearly and arrive at a common understanding. The NATs [National Party] have done this and they know where they are going. Some of our side are saying that we should consciously not articulate our definitions to prevent the disruption of the current process.

She did not agree. She observed alarming levels of "uncertainty" within the ANC leadership on these issues.

The state's briefing document links the Tongaat meeting to Operation Vula, which it describes as "a plot to misuse the negotiation process to organise a national uprising."

It says that since the SACP was unbanned, and particularly since the meeting between government and the ANC in May, Operation Vula aimed at establishing internal bases and expanding a revolutionary army. It traces the plot to the formation of an ANC/SACP President's Committee in 1987. Slovo is named as one of its seven members.

But whether police still have enough evidence to maintain Slovo is not negotiating in good faith, and President de Klerk a strong enough basis to insist that Slovo be dropped from the ANC team to meet him on August 6, remains to be seen.

National Police Liaison Issue Unrest Report

MB3107083190 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0825 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] Pretoria July 31 SAPA—Here is the official police unrest report as received from the SAP's [South African Police] Public Relations Division on Tuesday [31 Jul].

"The following unrest-related incidents were reported during the past 24 hours:

"At Nyanga, near Wynberg (Cape) a private bus was damaged during a stone-throwing incident.

"At Macassar, near Somerset West a number of private vehicles and an office were damaged during stone-throwing incidents.

"At Rocklands, near Bloemfontein a private vehicle was damaged when set alight by a group of blacks.

"At Sijathuthuka, near Belfast a municipal policeman's house was destroyed during a petrol-bomb attack. One man was arrested when a group of blacks barricaded a road.

"At kwaDela, near Davel a policeman sustained slight injuries when a group of blacks stoned police and TPA [Transvaal Provincial Administration] officials.

"At Wesseltown, near Ermelo a black man was wounded when a gunman fired from a passing vehicle at pedestrians.

"At Crossroads, Cape, a black man was fatally wounded when a group attacked a private dwelling and fired shots at the house. Another private house was destroyed during a petrol-bomb attack.

"At Hout Bay, Cape, two black men were arrested when a group attempted to free prisoners from a police vehicle. Police used pistol fire to ward off the attempt. The two arrested were wounded.

"At Bonnievale, six coloured men were arrested when a private vehicle was stoned.

"At Queenstown 18 persons were arrested for displaying placards during an illegal gathering.

"At King Williams Town a black woman sustained slight injuries during an illegal gathering.

"At Sigizi Reserve, near Empangeni a group of blacks attacked a number of kraals and a private house with petrol-bombs. The dwellings were destroyed.

"At Enzinoni, near Bethal police found the body of an off-duty municipal policeman who had been shot.

"At kwaDele, near Amersfoort police arrested two black men when a police vehicle was stoned.

"At Bekkersdal (WWR [Witwatersrand]) a group of blacks attacked and destroyed a private house with petrol-bombs," the report said.

—"On 1990-07-28 at about 12:00 a black man fired at a member of the police while attending the funeral of Brian Ngqulunga in Soshanguwe. The policeman returned fire and wounded the gunman. The gunman was seriously wounded and admitted to the Garankuwa hospital.

—"On 1990-07-30 at about 02:30 Chinese stick-grenades were thrown through windows of two houses in Masakhane, Jamestown. Minor damage was caused to both houses and no injuries sustained. Police are investigating.

—"On 1990-07-30 at about 01:30 a handgrenade was thrown at the house of a municipal policeman in Tembisa. Slight damage was caused and no injuries reported. Police are investigating."

Press Reviews on Current Problems, Issues

30 Jul

MB3007122190

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY TIMES

Editorial Questions Mandela-SACP Links—Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 29 July in a page 20 editorial states: "Mr. Mandela needs to reconcile the views of SACP [South African Communist Party] members at the Tongaat meeting ('While the ceasefire happens nationally, the people on the ground have to continue to be on the attack and eliminate the warlords and councillors') with the immunity clause of the Groote Schuur agreement. This allows the return of exiles 'to assist in bringing violence to an end to take part in peaceful political negotiations.' If Mr. Mandela cannot reconcile those objectives—as he surely cannot—

he should tell the SACP so publicly. More important, he should move rapidly to reach agreement with the Government on ending the armed struggle. Only that way will he, an intelligent man, be spared the humiliation of his own verbal contortions of recent days."

THE STAR

SACP Shows Credibility 'Gaps'—"Until all the facts are proved, nobody can pass conclusive judgment on 'Operation Vula', the alleged SA Communist Party plan for revolution," declares Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 30 July in a page 10 editorial. Yet, there are "strong suggestions" the plot is "more than a figment of the seculocrat imagination." President de Klerk has "certainly taken seriously enough the large dossier presented by the police. And the SACP, whatever soothing noises it may have been making of late, has its own credibility gaps as well." But Mandela confronts a "dilemma": "To continue to pay lip service to a diminishing 'armed struggle' was one of the few weapons in the ANC's [African National Congress] political armoury. But for SACP members within the ANC leadership secretly to prepare their own kind of struggle as the ANC and the Government worked together for peace, would be a cynical betrayal of trust." Although Mandela shows respect for old loyalties he "owes no loyalty" to "trusted lieutenants who may have been plotting behind his back."

THE DAILY MAIL

SACP Plot Allegations To Disrupt Talks—Johannesburg THE DAILY MAIL in English on 30 July in a page 6 editorial says some facts have emerged to back up the claims of a "Great Red Plot to scuttle negotiations" but have been "knocked down": "SACP General Secretary Joe Slovo was not even at the Tongaat meeting where he was alleged to have said that the SACP was not bound by a ceasefire agreement. The meeting was of uncertain status; the speaker who said the dreaded lines, was of uncertain position." THE DAILY MAIL believes there are "elements of the state who want to disrupt the talks and who were prepared to stir up the story of a relatively minor meeting, and even try and trick the State President into believing it."

Criticism of ANC 'Slowness'—"Why was the ANC so slow to respond to the allegations against it?" asks a second editorial on the same page. "It is possible that the movement is on uncertain ground, having been caught with arms caches and accused of involvement in other military activities that may contravene the spirit of the Groote Schuur agreement." However, a "more likely explanation" is that the ANC "was unable to respond swiftly for reasons of bureaucratic inefficiency." "Looking over events since February 2, the government has been able to call every shot—and we have had to wait for the ANC to respond every time. This is tragic, because it means that the pace of change is being dictated by those who benefit from slowness, rather than those who want it

to happen quickly." The ANC must improve its structures or it will continue to "act on an agenda drawn up by its opponents."

BUSINESS DAY

SACP Launch Welcome—The launch of the SACP as "a legal political organisation with a public and identified leadership is a welcome development," says a page 4 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 30 July. "Stripped of its emotive appeal, having to answer publicly for past inanities, and held democratically accountable for its undemocratic operations, the SACP is more likely to lose stature than gain it." Its launch will be acclaimed a "huge success, members' projections will stretch to tens of thousands and messages of support will be taken for real endorsement. The reality may be somewhat different, and only the openness to which it is now subject can achieve that."

RAPPORT

ANC Commitment to Armed Struggle—"Mr. Nelson Mandela's recent confirmation of the ANC's commitment to negotiations is encouraging, but this does not cover up the fact that certain members of the ANC have been acting in a manner that will not further peace," notes an editorial on page 24 of Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans of 29 Jul. "This results in the disturbance of the process of negotiation. The controversy began with Mr. Mandela's first speech in Cape Town where he emphasized the ANC's commitment to the armed struggle." "This was interpreted by thousands of his supporters as justification for intimidation and violence, as instruments of 'political persuasion.' This was followed by an intensification of the struggle in Natal, where people with differing views were intimidated or even murdered, Chris Hani delivered his controversial speech, and an underground movement of the ANC planning armed attacks, was discovered." "At Sebokeng this week Mr. Mandela allowed a second opportunity of furthering the course of peace and democracy, to slip through his fingers. Instead of pleading for tolerance, he declared that Sebokeng is ANC territory and that nobody will be allowed to steal his supporters. This is as good as putting a seal of approval on violence against political opponents. In the light of this we wonder whether the ANC possesses the ability and the leadership to practice modern politics within a democratic state."

Criticism of Right Wing Violence—A second editorial on the same page states: "No civilized community can justify premeditated murder by calling it 'political release.' Recently there have been too many cases where whites have shot helpless blacks walking in the street. It is sick to even attempt to justify this with the excuse that whites feel threatened or that it is an act of revenge. To measure just how sick our community can be we merely have to recall the incident where a black child was killed by whites who threw an object at him from a passing car." "If prominent Conservative leaders such as Dr.

Andries Treurnicht and Mr. Eugene Terreblanche could state in public that civilized people do not resort to such methods then this new epidemic will probably subside."

31 July

MB3107094990

[Editorial Report¹]

THE CITIZEN

ANC Must Stop Attempts To Dominate Whole Country—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 27 July in its page 6 editorial states: "The townships of the Transvaal are not Zulu territory, so if Inkatha members are responsible for starting the Sebokeng and other clashes and for attacking people on a train, they are to be condemned just as much as we condemn the UDF-COSATU-ANC [United Democratic Front/Congress of South African Trade Unions/African National Congress] alliance for much that has happened in Natal." THE CITIZEN, therefore, urges Inkatha to "desist from any attacks, for whatever reason." The ANC's "attempts to dominate the whole country must cease," because "what is the good of everyone wanting a non-racial democracy when the democratic right of people to dissent, to express their own opinions, is denied?"

THE STAR

'Red Plot' 'Disinformation' Dangerous—"As the mist of disinformation swirls about the 'red plot,'" it becomes clear "some propagandists got over-excited and put foot in mouth on the basis of false deduction and elementary error," observes Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 31 July in a page 16 editorial. "Thank goodness President de Klerk and Mr. Mandela have kept their heads. The August 6 talks seem likely to go on. But neither party deserves to have to contend with dubious information from people with even more dubious motives. And South Africa itself cannot afford dangerous games."

THE DAILY MAIL

Appointment of SADF Chief—Referring to the appointment of Lieutenant General Andreas Jacobus "Kat" Liebenberg as the chief of the South African Defense Force, Johannesburg THE DAILY MAIL in English on 31 July in a page 4 editorial says: "This country now has a minister of defence, Magnus Malan, and a military chief, who have both been implicated in the CCB [Civil Cooperation Bureau] scandal and have not bothered even to try and clear their names by giving evidence" to the Harms commission investigating the activities of the "dirty tricks unit," the Civil Cooperation Bureau. "What is the point of the inquiry if the government is going ahead anyway and promoting those who are under scrutiny?"

BUSINESS DAY

Most ANC Delegates 'Communists'—"That most of its delegates are communists says something about the ANC which all South Africans should know: When they deal

with the ANC it is unlikely that they are dealing with social democrats or liberals," affirms Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 31 July in a page 8 editorial. "If the starting point of successful negotiations is to recognise and accept reality, then it is vain and stupid to try to unseat Slovo from the ANC delegation, especially at the cost of government's credibility."

SOWETAN

Police Allegedly 'Orchestrating' ANC-Inkatha Violence—"Swift action" by the Soweto Civic Association and information from COSATU that "violence in the hostels is fomented by outside elements is bearing fruit," remarks the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 31 July. "The COSATU leadership, anxious about the safety of their hostel members, has kept us informed about sinister instigators, allegedly members of the police, orchestrating violence between Inkatha and the ANC and hostel dwellers and other township residents."

CAPE TIMES

Reasons for Armed Struggle 'Scant Credibility'—Archbishop Desmond Tutu's call in Cape Town for "tolerance" of opposing views rang with an urgency which cannot be denied, notes a page 6 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 26 July. This intolerance is "one of the main underlying causes" of the continuing killing in the black community. CAPE TIMES further notes Mandela says he "agrees with Mr. Chris Hani that the 'armed struggle' will once again take precedence if the negotiations should fail. Mr. Mandela may feel the tactical need to maintain this fiction in the approach to negotiation, but the option of resuming the 'armed struggle' has scant credibility. Mr. Hani's show of armed propaganda across the border in Transkei notwithstanding. The De Klerk government likewise has little option but to negotiate, albeit from a position of considerable strength."

TRANSVALER

Union Involvement in Inkatha-ANC Dispute Questioned—"Why COSATU, a union that should occupy itself with workers' interests, is at all involved in the dispute between the ANC and Inkatha, the organization's leaders have not yet told us," remarks Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 26 July in a page 12 editorial. "What happens in Sebokeng between Inkatha and certain black factions, should be a message to COSATU, the UDF, and other branches of the ANC that their proposed plan to do away with Inkatha and its leader, Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is a highly dangerous game. If their advisers gave them the impression it was going to be easy, they now know it was a mistake."

BEELD

Mandela Not Talking on Behalf of All His People—"It is beginning to look as if Mr. Mandela does not always know what his people are up to," warns Johannesburg BEELD in

Afrikaans on 24 July in a page 10 editorial. "Only 14 days before the next important round of talks between the ANC and the government comes the disquieting news that members of his organization are busy planning an extensive armed offensive in the event that the talks between the ANC and the government go wrong. And that with the knowledge of some of the ANC's most important leaders!" "What value can be attached to Mr. Mandela's contribution in talks with the government, and later with negotiations about a new South Africa, if he cannot talk on behalf of all his people?"

*** Olivier Discusses Future South African Constitution**

90AF0300A Lisbon O DIABO in Portuguese
12 Jun 90 pp 16- 18

[Interview with Pierre Johannes Jeremia Olivier, president of South Africa's Constitutional Reform Commission, by Nuno Rogeiro in Lisbon: "I See Great Similarities Between Our Process and Soviet 'Perestroika'"]

[Text] His name is Pierre Johannes Jeremia Olivier. He is 54 years old and was born in Namibia, in the town of Usakos. A professor of constitutional law at the University of Pretoria and the University of Port Elizabeth, he is a lover of wide-open spaces and sports, and he likes to withdraw into the worlds of literature and painting, his Ingles violins.

He received his doctoral degree at the University of Leiden, in the Low Countries, with a dissertation on judicial fictions and their relationship with the practice and theory of Law.

A judge on South Africa's Supreme Court, he presides over the Constitutional Reform Commission, which is traveling to several different countries to study possible models for a future basic law, which is to come after the period of what Thomashausen once called "the state of the dismantling of apartheid."

Pierre Olivier was in Lisbon. We wanted to hear this educated and affable Boer on the subject of possible avenues to achieving a new political order and a new constitution in the southern giant of the African continent, with the certainty that the creation of this new constitution is a work of real men, dedicated to real men, in spite of the fact that it is a titanic task.

[Rogeiro] Exactly what is the mission of your team at this moment? To prepare a new constitution for South Africa? To try to translate the new political reality into laws?

[Olivier] Well, I am a judge on the Supreme Court of the Republic of South Africa, but at this moment I am heading, on a permanent basis, the commission whose task it is to study the prospects of constitutional reform in our country. I have a team of 18 lawyers and legal experts which, for the last three years—at the government's request—has been investigating the question of human rights, with the publication of a working document being the first result. This document came out in 1989 and in it we came out vigorously in favor of a Bill

of Rights for South Africa. We said that such a bill should be strong, effective, honest, and based on nondiscrimination. We recommended that it should include the so-called "first-generation human rights," which include general freedom of political participation. And finally, we said that the Bill of Rights should have adequate mechanisms to seek redress through the laws and through the courts.

But, to answer your question more directly, I will say that our conclusions pointed to the need for a new political legitimacy for the system. And for us, that legitimacy could only be acquired within the standard framework of a new constitution. What constitution? A constitution that would be accepted by the majority of all citizens, a constitution worked out through compromise and negotiation.

The Acceleration of History

[Rogeiro] What was the first institutional reaction to the conclusions and recommendations of the report? Did the government feel that you had exceeded its original mandate?

[Olivier] I must confess that, at the time, our document was somewhat shocking, because it did not conform to the political priorities of the executive branch of the government. In essence, ours was a technical-judicial message that was antiapartheid. I remember that the text was published on 11 March 1989.

But history does not stop. And the government ended up by, how shall I say...

[Rogeiro] ... By integrating your document into the political center, into acceptability?

[Olivier] Yes, into current policy. And as a consequence, it began the process of a series of laws that we had considered as violations to the bill of rights previously presupposed. In February of this year, the government issued a second mandate to our commission, giving us the task of examining and investigating all the possible constitutional solutions for the new South Africa.

The lines of our proposal are based on the universal broadening of political rights, the protection of rights, freedoms and guarantees both for individuals and for minorities, as well as the prerogatives of the nations and tribes that exist within our State. And I can tell you in advance that the "acceptable constitution" will therefore include, by necessity, majority government rule.

But since that is an accomplished fact, we are now concentrating on a more banal task—that of guaranteeing the sharing of power, so as to prevent power from becoming concentrated in the hands of a single entity...

[Rogeiro] Basically, you are in the American pre-constitutional phase, when Federalists and Jeffersonians were discussing setting up the mechanism of checks and balances, the brakes and counterweights that fragment the power held by the various actors.

[Olivier] Yes. What is happening is that we have to have a point of departure. It is the Bill of Rights, which already represents a major accomplishment if it were institutionalized. Later we will have to move on to the powers of the governmental organizations, to their political statute.

In that aspect, I am in favor of an equitable system of electing the president, in that a simple majority is not enough to win. We are pleased with the proposal for a "transferable vote." And we think that the presidency will exercise the moderating factor in political life.

On the other hand, we think that the Constitutional Court should have the power to rule on the constitutionality of the norms. And the president can also be called on, with precise and strictly defined powers, to take part in this process.

Finally, with regard to the legislative assembly, we are in favor of a system of proportional representation...

Models for Reform

[Rogeyro] But when you talk about proportional representation, are you thinking about some specific technique of translating that principle into practice? Is the Portuguese case a model to follow, for example?

[Olivier] I would place every possible model on the table. But at this moment we are thinking that it is advisable to have a system of voting by lists and not by nominal districts, that is, not based on individual suffrage. For the time being it is merely a proposal, an interesting proposal.

[Rogeyro] When you refer to the need for constitutional reform, are you talking about the creation of a series of unconnected laws that would carry constitutional weight, or are you talking about the approval of a new constitution that would be formal and codified, in the form of a document?

[Olivier] I am undoubtedly referring to a new constitutional document, devised from scratch. And we shall include some institutional novelties, such as a purveyor of justice and a Constitutional Court made up not just of professional judges, but of law professors, etc.

[Rogeyro] And with regard to the legislative institution, are you thinking along the lines of a unicameral, a bicameral, or a multicameral body?

[Olivier] One of the models that we are analyzing is that of a bicameral parliament. One chamber would be elected by the usual method, and the other would have the function of protecting the diverse social interests, the plurality of political society. We even researched a Portuguese Constitution—I think that it was the one before the New State, wasn't it?

[Rogeyro] The constitutional monarchy, the First Republic, and the New State all had bicameral traditions, although it was a question of different types of bicameralism, case by case...

[Olivier] We are studying a model that seems really interesting, one that has collective representation in the second chamber.

[Rogeyro] But I think that the essential question is that of the legislature's real powers...

[Olivier] For the second chamber to be effective, it will probably have to be given the power of the veto. And it could be necessary to have a majority in that chamber to make legislative resolutions in a bloc. Or further, looking at the experiences of other systems, one can conceive that this chamber will eventually have the power to initiate legislative procedures.

Constitutional Revision

[Rogeyro] And what about the critical power to revise the Constitution? Is the Namibian model, for example, acceptable to the commission?

[Olivier] With regard to the constitutional Bill of Rights, my commission has advised that the process of revision can only become a reality with a designated majority of three-fourths of the votes cast. We do not want to commit the Namibian mistake, because in that experience, the Constitution is rigid and it becomes impossible to reform the principles on fundamental rights.

[Rogeyro] It is the problem of the so-called irrevocable clauses or material limits of revision which, just between us, as you know, was the great dividing line and caused great doctrinal debates...

[Olivier] Yes. But take note that when constitutions proclaim themselves to be unchangeable, they end up by being changed in other ways, in unconstitutional ways, by being torn up, for example. So I think that a constitution has to be a realistic, flexible, adaptable document.

The Republic of South Africa and the USSR

[Rogeyro] Without being cynical, I would ask you if you detect any similarities between the process of constitutional reform in the Republic of South Africa and in the USSR. Everybody is talking about the parallels between the Boers and the Bolsheviks, between perestroika and 'Pretoriastroyka.' Looking beyond the easy caricature, are there any points of contact?

[Olivier] I really do see great similarities. In South Africa, we also have to transcend an ancien regime that combined characteristics of a one-party system and domination of the State by a minority, in this case ethnic or racial. The National Party has dominated the politics of the Republic of South Africa for 41 years...

[Rogeyro] And now—another parallel with the USSR—it was the party that launched the reform process...

[Pierre Olivier] So. The fact is that we ended up by realizing the historical need to expand the array of freedoms, at least so as to avoid the bitterness of a process of revolutionary rupture. Once this stage of reform has been reached, interest groups and pressure groups of the most diverse types begin to spring up, groups that had been lying in a state of latency for a long time.

Some of these groups are demanding partition and secession. As you know, for example, the Conservative Party itself is now willing to align itself with that secessionist chorus...

[Rogeyro] Advocating a "white Bantustan," I believe...

[Olivier] Yes, that is right. And I would not be surprised if we were to see black minorities also demanding separatist solutions within a very short time.

The 'Bantustans'

[Rogeyro] With regard to the "Bantustans," which the Republic of South Africa calls "homelands": How will the new Constitution deal with the statute of those territories of dubious status in the face of international law?

[Olivier] There are two aspects on which we need to focus. First, I think that the Constitution, in order to be a living document, will have to be a mirror of the real society. And at that level, as you know, the homelands are being integrated into the State territory. It is a process that is being played out in practical, physical terms. So I think that the future Fundamental Law will not be built on the notion of homelands. But if it should be necessary from an administrative point of view, there could be cases where power would be returned to provinces and other basic territorial entities. That is a future that I can imagine.

So it is no longer a question of ethnic "Bantustans" but rather of territorial re-divisions for economic and administrative purposes.

The Schedule for Reform

[Rogeyro] Is there a strict deadline for the end of your commission's work?

[Olivier] Yes. I think that we will have a working document soon which will be ready for discussion in March of next year. After a period of debate, which may take up to six months, the commission will hammer out a final report.

But look. Our task is not to write a new constitution. It is just to present all the judicial possibilities for a new constitutional direction. That is the reason that we have tried to gather a solid volume of constitutional arguments and evidence, based on the comparative experiences of systems such as yours here in Portugal, or those in Belgium, Switzerland, or Germany, to cite just a few examples.

The Powers of the Legislature

[Rogeyro] I am presuming that the new Constitution will eventually be voted on either in a popular referendum or by a new legislature. What specific powers will that legislature have?

[Olivier] I think that first a system will have to be established in which power will be exercised by the territorial communities, in a decentralized fashion. That is essential in a gigantic country such as ours. But the powers of organization of infrastructures, especially at the level of public works and security systems, should belong to the State.

Viewed in that light, the legislature should have any remaining powers, such as international relations, control over the military security system, perhaps a residual power to tax.

[Rogeyro] Do you think that those powers should be minutely spelled out or should they be largely assumed?

[Olivier] They have to be spelled out right down to the smallest detail. With precision. Please observe that we are living in a society where degrees of mistrust and hostility still exist. That is why the constitutional provisions concerning the powers of government entities need to be precisely spelled out.

Only in this way will we form a civic culture that will overcome mistrust. Each person will come to trust the constitutional text, regardless of the faith that he may or may not have in his fellow man.

Federalism?

[Rogeyro] Over a period of time, do you foresee the building of a South African federalism, or of some type of confederation?

[Olivier] At the end of the road, our hope is that we will be able to form a true South African nation. Federalism can certainly play a role in that future, in the sense that various local groups and entities will enjoy greater and wider powers.

[Rogeyro] But it seems that you are referring more to decentralization than to federation...

[Olivier] That is true. In a way, it is a question of a phenomenon of decentralization. But on the other hand, I do not understand federalism as a formula.

[Rogeyro] A little while ago, we were talking about the rights of minorities. What constitutional guarantees will there be concerning those rights?

[Olivier] We are studying several systems. We have seen the Belgian model, the Swiss model...

[Rogeyro] And even here, a comparison with the USSR arises, especially if we keep in mind the new rules concerning the conditions for secession of the federative

republics, which require cooperation and give national minorities a virtual right of veto.

[Olivier] Yes, of course, the Soviet parallel arises again. Basically, it is a question of systems where minorities at least have the right of veto over decisions that affect them. But there is the generalized awareness in the Republic of South Africa that the basis for the protection of the rights of minorities lies in protecting individual rights. Everything that we said a short while ago: expanded freedom, a Bill of Rights, limitation of powers, control of constitutionality, and especially, creation of a system which confers political responsibility on the various government entities.

Customs

[Rogero] In a society such as that of South Africa, common law, especially at the level of tribal customs, takes on great local importance. Andre Thomashausen came to Portugal not very long ago to talk about that. Will the new Constitution take these unwritten guidelines into account?

[Olivier] The commission has already written its opinion in the sense of constitutionally assuring the recognition of common law. In our judicial pyramid, these laws based on custom will occupy several spaces of regional guidelines, and the same laws imply specific mechanisms of production of evidence, etc., and, as you mentioned, application of these laws is not new in South Africa.

The Obstacles

[Rogero] Is there consensus with regard to the course of constitutional reform in the Republic of South Africa? If there is, is it a consensus reached merely among legal experts, or among the political forces that are really going to take part in the process? Also, I would like for you to tell me, from the standpoint of political analysis, what is going to be the biggest obstacle to that reform.

[Olivier] With regard to the scientific legal community, there is consensus. We understand each other. But there is an enormous obstacle to overcome. This is a question of what I would call "exclusive nationalism," which is taking shape at this moment among certain radical black groups, which are to the left of the ANC [African National Congress]. This is the case of the Pan-African Congress (PAC), which apparently does not even envision a place for whites in South Africa.

The problem is knowing how to convince these extremist fringe groups to participate in the process of constitutional reform.

A lesser problem is the resistance to the same process by whites of the so-called "Right." They are afraid that a black majority will eventually oppress them, and so their policy is dictated by a strategy of fear. If the fear disappears...

The Roots

[Rogero] Sometimes there is the idea that South African constitutionalism is only now being created. Well now, the truth of the matter is that the Republic of South Africa represented the first historical attempt to transplant "Westminster democracy" to the black continent. To conclude, talk to us a little bit about the sources of that sometimes unfamiliar constitutionalism.

[Olivier] From a historical point of view, it is true that we adopted English constitutional law, ignoring and virtually neglecting the continental European judicial source.

From the institutional point of view, we brought the British parliamentary system here, the voting system by majority ballot ("winner takes all"), and many of the traditions and convictions of parliamentary law from the United Kingdom.

In that measure, it must be said that we have accepted the "Western idea of democracy." And we have always paid tribute to the principles of a state of law, independent of the judicial power. But the existence of the apartheid system has caused other tendencies—sometimes serious—in this ancient tradition. What we are trying to do now is to make the system more universal in its democratic nature, escaping from the mere British component and adopting some of the great modern ideas of Western European constitutionalism, while still learning from the American constitutional experience.

It was to study and compare experiences that I came to Europe and passed through Portugal. We have not come to explain anything, but to learn and investigate examples of laws and institutions that may possibly be adaptable to our reality.

At any rate, I will say that our future Fundamental Law will have to be a very good constitution. The fact is that the problems that it will have to deal with are also very large.

Angola

Rebels Reportedly Sabotage Luanda Power Supply

MB3007173290 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] This year, the Angolan capital, Luanda, has been the victim of repeated power failures and sometimes cuts in the water supply, all as a result of sabotage attacks by the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebel group.

Today, yet another assault on the powerlines which carry the city's main electricity supply from the hydroelectrical station at Cambambe, has once more turned the lights out and, as Anita Coolson reports in this telex from Luanda, the city's residents are beginning to wonder whether UNITA is really committed to the peace process.

[Coolson] The hum of diesel power generators was once again to be heard in Luanda today following an overnight attack by UNITA rebels which once again deprived the city of electricity.

A military note said UNITA had sabotaged the powerline running from the hydroelectric plant at Cambambe to Luanda in the early hours of this morning. Shortly before seven, the two large gas power turbines, which provide an emergency power supply covering about half the city's needs, came back into operation but, during the daylight hours, they supply industrial requirements as a first priority. In other areas of the capital, only those with their own diesel generators have power.

A team of engineers from the State Electricity Supply Company have already gone to the area between Cazualala and Dondo in Cuanza Norte Province, where the sabotage occurred but the extent of the damage is not yet known, nor when power will be restored. UNITA guerrillas have stepped up their attacks in recent days, blowing up 14 oil pipelines operated by the Belgium-owned Fina Oil Company last week and killing more than 20 villagers just before the weekend.

Today's military note added news of further UNITA actions. It said the rebels had ambushed a food convoy on Saturday [28 July] between Ganda and Cubal, in Benguela Province, destroying one truck and all the food on board, and wounding four people.

The note said that, on the same day, a separate attack on the municipality of Cunhinga, in Bie Province, was foiled by an alert detachment of Angolan Army Forces, who killed two of the rebels.

Government forces say they also killed three UNITA rebels on Friday, when they ran across them in eastern Moxico Province.

Government circles in Luanda are reportedly angry that UNITA should have stepped up its attacks just as the

two sides are preparing to meet for a third round of peace talks in Portugal. The prevailing view is that UNITA is not ready for the talks and, despite rebel leader Jonas Savimbi's recent statements, he is not ready to sign a cease-fire.

Commentary Attacks Corruption, Theft by MPLA

MB3107063890 (Clandestine) KUP in English
to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Commentary: "Angolans, Hands to Work"]

[Text] Jamba, Mon. July 30 [dateline as received]—The explosion of the diamond scandal following the systematic theft of these precious and strategic minerals of our land, perpetrated by MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] politicians with leadership cargoes [as received] in the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, by company workers, etc., is a tragic consequence of the sad system of governing established by the MPLA-Labor Party and of the posture and conscience of the individuals who constitute the government. This is a fact.

It is with great pity that our motherland bears in its midst sons inclined to corruption and candonga (or black market) because corruption, candonga and stealing have never constructed anything anywhere in this world. In fact, it is lack of patriotism to dedicate oneself to stealing the natural wealth of the country, to increase corruption and candonga because a corrupt country is a lost one. Without honor and dignity a country does not deserve respect from other countries and peoples of the world. A corrupt country is a country without capacity, without creativity. It is a country in confusion.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola had sketched an impassable road which today puts the Angolan people in a position of inferiority before the other free, independent and democratic peoples of the world.

The governing of Angola by the MPLA since November 11, 1975, has been a disaster, and the proof of the incapacity and destruction is there, even to the least attentive observer.

Angolan People, Compatriots. Time has come for us to join efforts in order to change the bearing of events in the country, through concrete and decisive actions, for us to be able to appropriately arrange our house in such a manner to recuperate our dignity as a people that have always been respected. Corruption, candonga and parallel trading have all to be banished from our land and the people have to be well governed for them to have access to goods. This needs a permanent and frontal struggle. Angola cannot be a haven of black marketeers. Hands to work against this plague which has come to ruin our beautiful and wonderful motherland. [sentence as received]

Long live the dignity of our motherland. Forward with our revolution and now.

*** Reporter's Journal Captures Mood of Luanda**

90AF0299B Lisbon O JORNAL ILUSTRADO
in Portuguese 21-28 Jun 90 pp 20-22

[Article by reporter Luisa Machado drawn from her personal diary, recounting a week spent in Luanda: "Under the Shade of the Big Fig Tree"]

[Text] When we arrive, it is like going back home after a long absence. Such great happiness. Then, with the passing of time, we feel an immense revulsion, because life has stopped in time and there is no war that can justify chaos such as this. But we make up excuses and complicated justifications in order not to let hope die. When we depart, the feeling of relief is mixed with the anguish of longing to be back. We know that for a long time, we are going to live in despair, full of nostalgia. Angola casts a spell that seizes your soul and takes hold of your heart, and you never succeed in understanding a passion such as this. Even with the country deteriorating, poor, divided, sad and at war, you make up dreams and endless illusions that transcend all the problems of everyday living. A diary is just a remembrance.

Monday: For Want of Love of Life

Since there are no lights, nights in Luanda seem long, almost infinite. These days are beautiful and go by quickly, with the heat sticking to your skin all the time. It makes you feel like spending the day at the beach, one of the beaches on the islands. Now there is not even a trace of cholera.

Even so, the radio still talks about sporadic cases that occur in the neighborhood of Cazenga, an outdoor shantytown with no water, no sewers, and no electricity, a shantytown the same as many others that spring up in the city to house more than one million Angolans who have fled from the bush, from the war.

Catambor, Sambizanga, Rangel...they have pretty names, these shantytowns that stretch out of sight, full of life, of women and children. In Angola, so many children, so many adults are born and die for want of hospitals and medicine, for want of love of life.

And to make things even worse, the lack of electricity has caused the water to be turned off. They said that it would take more than a month to repair the 35 power lines that have been knocked out, but others have been sabotaged, and the days have begun to be always the same: a few hours with light, many more hours in the dark.

Luanda despairs in an apparent conformity that is composed of silence and a great weariness. The war, which until just a short while ago was far removed from the daily routine, is beginning to be felt at every moment. Radio and television talk about it a lot, in spite of the fact that they refer increasingly to "the process of democratization and national reconciliation." While nothing happens, time passes slowly, in a growing tension.

Tuesday: Sadder and Sadder

Luanda no longer manages to play with the awkwardness of daily life. There are people dying of weariness. They wake up very early just to sit for hours and hours watching the time go by, in an endless languidness, standing in line for the fuel that is almost always drawn by hand. It is gas, it is gasoline for the cars and for the city's generators that insist on breaking down, worn out by the interminable hours spent providing light to a dark city, which keeps getting sadder and sadder.

The food? With the rationing of energy, everything spoils. And the money almost never stretches far enough to be able to go to the parallel market to buy this or that. It is not the lack of "goods" that is startling. Basic necessities do exist, but at prices that are incompatible with the average salary in the country.

A can of milk costs 3,000 to 4,000 kwanzas, while an office worker sometimes earns only 15,000. "Can do? No can do!" say the Angolans, who really want to talk about the thievery that has swept through the marketplaces, where daring little boys rob careless women at Roque, or at Cala a Boca Beach.

At night, anyone who has a Volkswagen or a Land Rover is likely to sleep only fitfully. These are the makes of vehicles most coveted by the city's thieves, and a stolen car almost never turns up. It is hidden away out in the farthest corners of the shantytowns and is stripped in a few hours. The parts are worth a lot of money and are later sold to acquaintances and friends.

Wednesday: Arts and Craftiness

Luanda must be the most depressing city in the world. During the day, working is no good. Nothing works because of the lack of electricity, "because of the context and of such limited alternatives." It would only be worthwhile to be here if we were children, in order to be able to play in the street, barefoot. Perhaps, not even that, because there is no candy, no chocolates. Dumpings are sold on the corners, with no cream. Just plain dumplings, fried in oil. They have so many flies. Not even "paracuca" is appetizing, and it is so good—"ginguba" [peanuts] covered with melted sugar. And the bread that they sell at the end of the day in the streets—you are not even tempted to buy that.

People go shopping for pleasure only in the duty-free shops, where one pays in hard currency, in dollars or in convertible kwanzas. But for that, you need a credit card or a line of credit, and most people do not have access to either of those. It does not matter at all. The schemes of the black market are infinitely imaginative. Doesn't a coop owner who is a coop owner sell a little bit of everything just to get kwanzas? Yes, he does, just outside his shops, as you are leaving.

The Angolans have had, and still have, excellent teachers. All those who have come from the countries of the Eastern bloc are experts in such arts and craftiness.

For them, being there is like living through some prolonged vacation, without extensive "social contacts." The Soviets do not even mix on the beaches. They have one all to themselves, where others may not enter.

From Angola, the people of the Eastern bloc only want dollars. They add the philosophy of "schematic socialism" to their miserable salaries, and they bring cars, video cassette recorders, equipment, and things such as that, which they later sell for hard currency. It is worthwhile going to the airport to watch them depart: kilos and kilos of luggage, plus the purchases that they have yet to make at the duty-free shop in Paris.

In this regard, the Portuguese are different. They still like to wander through the city, and they check out all the markets looking for spicy barbecued beef. At night, they lose themselves in the bars of Luanda: the Saint-Tropez, the Xequê ['the Sh-ik'], the Boyte Adao ['the Adam Club'], and the Lotus.

Thursday: Lonely Heart, Conquering Heart

If it is hard to make it through the days, then do not even mention the nights. You wake up with the sunrise, at 0500 hours, and go to bed so early. Monotony makes everything unbearable, and it tires you out so.

The movie theaters—the ones with audiences that loudly cheer the actors on the screen—have closed because of the lack of electricity. They do not even show the films of Stallone and Schwarzenegger. Television shuts off its broadcasts without showing Vale Tudo ['Worth Anything'], Cross-words, soap operas to captivate people's hearts, to show lives that are almost non-existent around here.

Only love is similar to what you see on the soap operas. It is complicated. And Angolans, who are very passionate lovers, work out all their bewitchments on the Island, more than 12 km of beaches and ocean, with the highway in the middle and the infinite darkness turning all daydreams into a case of inflamed passion. Even when suspicions arise, what the women really want, in addition to love, is tangible presents: food, clothing...

Even so, Luanda is full of lonely hearts, lost in the city's bars, drinking beer while striking seductive poses, in a 1970's scenario. These men who came "to make sacrifices to achieve a better life" have a very sad look about them.

They really try to smile, they make an enormous effort to catch the rhythm of the music that they hear at the parties and bars that resemble a cabaret: the Xequê, the Saint-Tropez, all of those. They dance the night away and fall passionately head over heels for the hot-blooded African women. In the future, Angola is going to have the continent's most exotic racial mixture, made up of Swedes, Filipinos, Koreans, and Frenchmen.

Such intense love affairs raise suspicions and, to the magic of the tropics, it is evident that another magic formal occasion is added, a spell linked to almost forgotten traditions, those that dabble in amulets, teas,

herbs, and potions that the witch doctors sell at the market in Sao Paulo on little tables that they set up.

But the men are not thinking about any of that when they are dancing to the music of the Antilles, the Caribbean, or Brazil, always with a look of infinite love on their faces. They dance with smooth steps in a romanticism that ends quite suddenly, before midnight, the hour of the curfew, when there are armed patrols in the streets and a great silence falls on the city that only ends at 0500 hours the next morning. Time and again shots are heard in the dark nights, nights so nostalgic that one does not even notice that they are nights of splendor.

Friday: Parallel 2000

In this year, a year of drought when cattle are dying, crops are failing, starvation is wiping out people, and international aid is always insufficient, this year it has almost not rained at all. There have not been any of those tropical thunderstorms, accompanied by wind, lightning and thunder, which make people hurriedly seek shelter, without noticing that the rain comes down hot, so hot that it is perfect for taking an immense bath without ever being cold.

In one month, there were three nights of rain, and, during one of them—it was still April—in the neighborhood of Vila Alice, the party was splendidly beautiful. Anyone who was from far away, seeing the back yard of a private dwelling transformed into the most "in" discotheque in Luanda, the Parallel 2000, will not soon forget all those people who seemed to be infinitely free, dancing in the rain to "Johnny Be Good Tonight," Peter Tosh, very tall, with palm trees in the background, and papaya trees waving very slowly in the breeze. And the smell of wet earth—there is nothing else like it.

It looked like a movie set. I wish I had taken a lot of photographs, but it was impossible. And besides, the Angolans hate for you to do that. People in the street love it. They strike a thousand different poses with boundless smiles, but pretty soon, someone comes along with a surly look to say that you cannot do that here.

It does not matter if you are taking a picture of a beach, a garden, or a deteriorating building, they take the roll of film out of your camera "for security reasons." And that's it, there is nothing that you can do about it.

Saturday: The Day of Our Contentment

On Saturday morning, the whole city goes out into the street, to do nothing full of contentment. At those times, outings are planned which are canceled immediately afterwards. People go simply to the island of Mussulo. People eat dinner at one of the few private restaurants in the city, they pay the parallel market prices in kwanzas, and they devour spicy food. Why would anyone want to do more than that..?

Some of them go to Viana, to see the red earth and the cashew trees, even if only to return at sunset. It is only 16

km, but not even Luanda's "industrial belt" escapes from the ghosts of security. It is funny that people have become accustomed to living like this, to living with fear. They do not even become frightened.

Perhaps, that is why they drink so much. They say that it is from the climate, from the heat, from the parties. Be that as it may, on the weekend there are always gruesome accidents, and electric poles and trees get knocked down, and many people die. On television and on the radio, they get sick of asking drivers not to drink. It does no good.

Not even the police, who are around every corner, succeed in controlling the situation. But the traffic policemen do. They keep all the traffic under control, even at the times of heaviest congestion. They are handsome, they stand very straight and tall, and they wear white gloves.

Sunday: The Mirage of Peace

When the weekend arrives, the days are planned for after "Corimba", and picnics are improvised in the sunshine, on the fine, golden sand, on the hot, tropical beaches with their coconut palm trees lining the seashore.

Almost no one goes past kilometer 31 "out of respect" and, just for that reason, many people forget about the immensity of Angolan highways, the pathways which are older than colonialism running alongside the straight stretches that follow the sea, as far as Barra do Kuanza, where the river empties into the sea, 78 km from the capital. Few risk going that far.

The fishermen of Kuanza, who want nothing to do with the city, live alone, too taken with life in the village, five or six huts with women sitting in the shade of a big fig tree, telling stories that, one of these days, end up lost in Luanda, a sad city.

But there has been someone capable of bringing the city to life: Nelson Mandela. The sun came out to greet him, even now that the winter season is arriving. Public officials were tolerant to the limit and Luanda was filled with that sweet smell that never goes away. Only the clouds of mosquitoes insisted on appearing as night fell. Very irritating.

On that day as always, the Angolans stayed up all night with their dance steps and their easy laughter, far away from the dream that everyone longs for, but that, for some, even seems to be a mirage: peace.

Mozambique

Foreign Minister Meets Portuguese Counterpart

MB3107115090 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] Talks between Mozambican Foreign Minister Dr. Pascoal Mocumbi and his Portuguese counterpart Dr.

Joao de Deus Pinheiro began in Maputo this morning. The Portuguese foreign minister arrived in our country last evening.

Speaking at the opening session of the talks, Mozambican Foreign Minister Dr. Pascoal Mocumbi said the visit will strengthen ties of friendship and solidarity between the two states. He also said that it would strengthen Portuguese interest in the region.

Dr. Mocumbi said the talks are an opportunity to establish a better mutual understanding. In the talks, the two sides will exchange views on the current events worldwide, particularly in Europe. The two sides will also discuss bilateral issues.

In turn, Portuguese Foreign Minister Dr. Joao de Deus Pinheiro stressed that the visit reveals that the time is ripe for exchange of views between the two countries. Joao de Deus Pinheiro said that just as the world is closely following events in Europe, it cannot remain indifferent to events in Africa, particularly in southern Africa.

Elsewhere in his speech, Dr. Joao de Deus Pinheiro said that his country is not rich but it rich in human resources.

Comments From Dinner

MB3107060290 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] Mozambican Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi has said that peace and stability are vital to normalize people's life in Mozambique. The foreign minister said this in Maputo at a dinner hosted in honor of his Portuguese counterpart Joao de Deus Pinheiro.

Mocumbi said that the atmosphere of the first direct meeting between the Mozambican Government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] demonstrates that it is possible to restore peace in Mozambique through dialogue between Mozambican brothers.

Joao de Deus Pinheiro reaffirmed Portugal's determination to develop further its relationship with Africa on the basis of the following four watchwords: peace, democracy, development, and solidarity.

The foreign ministers of Mozambique and Portugal began talks this morning.

*** Marcelino Dos Santos Receives Chinese Officials**

90AF0270B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 2 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] Yesterday morning the president of the People's Assembly, Marcelino dos Santos, met with a delegation from the Chinese Communist Party [CCP] in the capital; the delegation has been visiting our country since last Tuesday [29 May].

On that occasion, the president of the People's Assembly praised the cooperation between our country and China since the time of the armed struggle for national liberation.

"It is always a great pleasure for us to welcome a delegation from the People's Republic of China. The ties uniting China and the People's Republic of Mozambique are long-standing and profound," Marcelino dos Santos said, adding that our objective is to cooperate for our mutual benefit.

After welcoming the delegation to Mozambique and wishing them a successful mission, Marcelino dos Santos informed the Chinese delegation of the efforts under way to develop the Mozambican economy and to fight the armed bandits.

"Apartheid is the last focal point of unrest in southern Africa," the president of the People's Assembly said, adding that when that system is eliminated, the focal points of violence in southern Africa will also disappear.

Marcelinho dos Santos expressed the hope that the Chinese Communist Party delegation would report on the accomplishments of the Mozambican people to the Chinese people and the party leaders.

The deputy head of the Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee, Meng Liankun, praised the role played by the Mozambican people in achieving well-being and development in the sectors of industry and agriculture, and transmitted greetings from the Chinese counterpart of the president of the People's Assembly.

*** Cashew Exports Expected To Reach 3,500 Tons**

90AF0276B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 1 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] Mozambique is expecting to export about 3,500 tons of cashews this year, valued at \$10 million, according to a report by state secretary for cashews, Juliano Maria Saranga, to Radio Mozambique.

Saranga said that the average price for cashews had gone up slightly on the international market in the past six months, because of the small production in some potential cashew-producing countries.

Last year, Mozambique exported over a thousand tons of this strategic product, according to that official who is the head of the cashew sector.

With regard to the prospects for sales of the current crop of cashews, Juliano Maria Saranga explained that, as a result of the weather, Mozambique was expecting to market only half the volume it did last year.

According to information we received, marketing of the last cashew crop obtained good results, as about 50,000 tons of this strategic Mozambican export were sold. Moreover, this quantity represented an increase of about 5,000 tons over the previous crop for 1988.

As is true of other Mozambican economic sectors, the cashew sector is facing serious equipment problems, since in recent years little has been invested in acquiring machinery for the full operation of the cashew processing units. Also, the activities of the armed bandits in the countryside has destroyed the infrastructure in the sector, and the situation is aggravated by the flight of the local people from vast areas where cashews were planted, mainly as a result of the war to create unrest, of which Mozambique is a victim.

Our country ranked among the major cashew-producing nations, but the problems referred to earlier are jeopardizing our position in the world market.

The units for processing this product are found in the provinces of Nampula, Inhambane, Gaza, and the city of Maputo. The units are located in the regions of Mozambique with the highest potential for producing cashews.

Namibia

Expectation of Trade 'Revival' With Zimbabwe

MB3007131590 Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English 26 Jul 90 P 10

[Text] Namibia imports are looking to reduce dependence on South Africa now that the country is independent and their eyes are turning to Zimbabwe.

Trade between Zimbabwe and Namibia is gearing for a revival.

Before Zimbabwe's independence there had been some trade in manufactured goods. But in the 1980's this dropped to a trickle.

Those Zimbabwean products which find their way to Namibia do so through the trade agreement between Zimbabwe and South Africa.

With Namibia now independent the prospects ought to be better.

Namibia is a full member of the Customs Union and the Rand monetary area. Almost all of Namibia's manufactured imports come from South Africa, but now the Namibian business community wants to diversify its sources.

Zimbabwe, as the most economically advanced of the black-ruled states in the region, is a natural first choice.

According to the Zimbabwe Export Promotion Programme (ZEPP), Namibia importers "remember Zimbabwe goods as being of good quality and highly acceptable." Zimbabwe's aggressive exporters don't intend to miss the opportunity.

A Harare-based trade consultant, Mr. T. Powl, thinks the present value of trade between the two countries is between Z [Zimbabwean dollar] \$500,000 and Z\$1 million.

The trade is mainly in pottery, metal products and textiles.

ZEPP expects the product base to broaden and predicts an export value of up to Z\$3 million within the next twelve months.

Building materials for factory sites, power grid link-ups, joint tourism promotion, inputs to agricultural developments, technical assistance and joint ventures could be on the cards.

As most of Namibia's import trade is conducted through agents, ZEPP recommends the establishment of a reputable agent for Zimbabwean business in Namibia.

"The problem is to tear Namibia away from South Africa's stranglehold and in general, trade with Namibia is not going to be easy because Namibia, on a historical basis, has been well supplied by South Africa," Mr. Powl said.

Another difficulty is that there are no direct links between Zimbabwe and Namibia. Zimbabwe's road and rail links to Windhoek go through Upington in South Africa or by road through Caprivi Strip.

Air links are through Johannesburg, Gaborone and Lusaka. Costs are bound to be high in competition with goods from nearby South Africa.

Nevertheless, Zimbabwe's initiative looks promising and trade could develop quickly provided the markets of the two countries are open to each other.

If that was to happen, it would be the best post-independence gift SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] member states could give to a new entrant to the club. There aren't many such gifts changing hands among the existing members.

* Foreign Investment Needed To Exploit Minerals

90AF0302A Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
RUNDSCHAU in German 9 Jun 90 p 6

[Article by Brigitte Kols: "Namibia—Only the Big Companies Can Say, 'Open Sesame'—The Youngest African State Will Be Dependent on International Know-how and Capital for a Long Time in the Exploitation of its Mineral Resources"]

[Text] [Boxed item: Namibia, which only achieved independence in March and is Africa's youngest state, has long been a treasure trove for foreign concerns. It possesses precious minerals, silver and gold, and raw materials such as copper, lead, zinc, and not least of all uranium, which is today being diligently promoted and marketed. Although mining only represents three percent of the nation's employment, it is the country's key industry with the largest percentile of GNP [gross national product] (28 percent), of revenue (26 percent) and exports (70 percent). It is not however the new government that holds this key in hand; it is the three large concerns CDM [Consolidated Diamond Mines (Proprietary) Limited] (diamonds), Roessing (uranium) and Tsumeb (copper). For its development, the young state is dependent on the revenue from mining; hence it has no thought for now of nationalization.

It is above all the managers of the uranium concern who are now rubbing their hands with great anticipation since they are uncoupled from South Africa and the sanctions it is subject to. Furthermore, other treasures may rest in the trove. New finds are indicated (natural gas) or regarded as probable (oil). Admittedly, the "open sesame" requires a great deal of technical knowledge, a lot of capital and a willingness to take risks. Three conditions the government must pass on, which is why it can not dispense with the involvement of the powerful concerns.]

The history of diamond fever in Namibia began with a mistake. The first strike in 1884 was simply discarded. Count Maximilian von Spree who entered Luederitz Bay with the warship, "Moewe," [Gull] would have been a millionaire in the twinkling of an eye, had he ignored the advice of his entourage. Heinrich Vogelsang, under commission to the Bremen merchant, Adolf Luederitz, and Gustav Nachtigal, an authorized representative of the German Government, were of the opinion that the count's find could be identified simply as quartz. The finder was advised to throw away his supposed discovery and the diamond dream disappeared in the sand for the meantime. This dream became reality when a black worker, Zacharias Lewala, struck a diamond on Luederitz Bay while working on a railroad and turned it over to his white superior, the railroad inspector named Adolf Strauch. Strauch became one of the richest men in the world. Nothing of the sort was ever heard about the African Lewala.

This distribution of labor would remain typical for the more than 80-year history of Namibian diamond mining. The Europeans made a killing; the blacks were allowed to help with the digging. The land on the West coast between the Orange River and the 26th degree of latitude was declared an off-limits zone of the German Colonial Society, later the German Diamond Society, who exercised the exclusive right to exploit its resources. After the First World War it fell effortlessly into the hands of the South African "diamond baron" Ernest Oppenheimer, who was born in Hessen, and his Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa. CDM's parent company is the South African concern de Beers.

The atmosphere in the tall building in Windhoek where CDM is now headquartered is altogether less hectic than in the time of the German colonial diamond fever. Visitors can only enter the inner sanctum after intensive security checks. The excursion normally ends there. Even for some international journalists commissioned by the UN to review the economy of the new state, the zone remained tabu. Public Relations manager Clive Cowley expressed regret that "unfortunately it wasn't until after the departure" of the group that an inspection date could be set. One had to be satisfied with diagrams, a couple of real diamonds under glass and the explanations of a highly trained gemologist. He did however offer some insight into the secrets of the modern diamond mafia whose headquarters are the central selling organization in London. Through the eye of that needle, 80 percent of the entire diamond production of the world

passes. If someone has a name there and can order stones "in packets," he is a somebody in the glittering world of carats (the Arabic word refers to the dried carob seeds with which Gold in Africa and diamonds in India were once measured). Namibia and CDM apparently have something excellent to offer the London Market for 98 percent of the stones extracted in Namibia have jewelry quality, a quota which is only 25 percent worldwide. It is however no secret to the new black government that diamonds are not forever. The diamond content of the marine gravel beds in the zone has fallen significantly in recent years, while ever larger quantities of earth must be moved to obtain the diamonds. The production of CDM has fallen by more than half from two million carats (a carat is 200 milligrams) per year in 1977 to around 900,000 carats. Public spokesman Cowley is convinced that "the diamond production will not continue very far into the next century." The CDM contract for the exclusive exploitation of the zone happens to run out in the year 2010. By then however nothing will be left of the estimated 10 million carat reserve.

The company, therefore, began to explore and for a long time now has been investigating new sites. It is calculated to have spent DM35 million this year on exploration. In this uninhabited region prospecting takes place behind an artificial wall 600 meters long and 60 meters high, 19 feet below sea level.

Dispute Over Profit Distribution

CDM claims that in past years 80 percent of its profit was paid over to the government in the form of various taxes. But as the professor of economics at Windhoek, Fanuel Tjingaete, points out, the so-called Thirion Commission having taken a critical look at mining in Namibia in 1986, concluded that Namibia (still controlled by South Africa at the time) was being taken advantage of and had not always gotten its "fair share" of the profits from the mines. Tjingaete is of the opinion that diamonds from the mouth of the Orange River in Namibia were no doubt "shoved" across the border to Kimberly (the seat of de Beers). If the new government wants its appropriate share it will in any case need better legal and technical conditions for supervision.

In the country club in the middle of the desert before Swakopmund, the management of Roessing uranium mines offered a dinner invitation. The Roessing enterprise has been in production since 1975; in addition to Rio Tinto Zinc, its principal owner, the Frankfurt Metal Society also has a five percent share. Unlike their long established colleagues in the diamond business, Roessing is not shy of the press. The company has confronted the extremely critical domestic and international public with clever public relations people who aggressively promote the company and its activities. Some 13,000 visitors, including many German tourists, were hauled through the area by bus. They were all permitted to look into the open uranium pits, so that they might convince themselves that extracting uranium—even though large quantities of explosives are handled in the process—is not at

all dangerous. There is no apparent ceremonial secrecy here as at CDM—unless one asks about the clients of previous years (during the sanctions period) among which were German companies as well. The management of the world's largest uranium mine feels itself relieved in its business activities of the burden of sanctions imposed against South Africa. Although they were secretly circumvented, they still limited activity in certain markets such as the United States. Because of the economic boycott and the steep drop in price on the world market (a result of the antinuclear power campaign), Roessing has been operating since 1982 at 80 percent of its potential production level.

Two by no means unimportant employees, press representative Barry Clements and the German-speaking Namibian, Joachim Bierberg who plays a part in uranium production as a chemical engineer, both surprise one with their almost "green" points of view. [reference to the radical German political party that focuses on environmental issues]. The press representative used to head a national park and the engineer seeks out solitude in Namibia's wild nature, especially in Kavango in the North, which he would like to see declared as a reserve for tourists. The company does not hesitate to use racy advertisements (Roessing beautifies Namibia). The colorful company brochures have the following to say on the subject of the environment: All human activity influences the environment and mining is no exception. The advantages however of exploiting useful and valuable minerals far outweigh any negative effect on the environment so long as this effect is reduced to a minimum. Roessing claims to have held to "this minimum" and provided for the complete protection of workers from radiation and other dangers. According to them, the average worker is subject to about three millisieverts (sievert is the unit of measurement for the effect of radiation on human beings) per year. The internationally permissible maximum level is 50 millisieverts for workers in the nuclear power industry. In regards to safety standards, Roessing refers to awards it has received, including international ones.

Nevertheless, in Namibia Textbook (published by Peter-Hammer publishing company in West Germany in 1984) it says: "the environmental measures are inadequate, dust containing uranium enters the atmosphere and precipitates over a wide area around the mine in the form of fall-out contaminating the ground. The Roessing workers who live in company housing are also exposed to hazards. Through the dew and rain the fall-out penetrates the earth and threatens the water table."

The head of MUN (the mine workers union), Ben Uhlenga, complained at the congress of his organization in May that so far there has been no health and safety accords between MUN and Roessing—this is true of the other concerns as well. "Supervision of radiation and related hazards is in company hands; it is very difficult for workers and MUN to prove the occurrence of accidents or the existence of health hazards because of the lack of expert reports and the fact that the Roessing mine

still has a relatively short history; moreover many workers have come and gone over the years without any long-term observations of their health by Roessing."

By its own account the mining concern estimates that it spends DM250 million in the widest sense on Namibia. They refer with pride to the Roessing Foundation, begun in 1979, which finances development projects in agriculture, fishing, and the education and training of blacks. Admittedly, "The Namibian" has posed the question whether this is "a real service to Namibia and its citizens or merely a public relations maneuver" when it reported on the 10th anniversary of the foundation. Norman Louis, an assistant to the foundation's director was asked about the motivation for the its benevolence. He simply answered: "we believe that we must give some of the money we earn back to the people." His boss, David Godfrey considers it "good that we help build up the other two important sectors of the economy, fishing and agriculture, since mining is the largest factor in the Namibian economy."

Although Roessing also maintains that there is no racial discrimination whatsoever in its mines, the minister of mining, Adimba Toivo ya Toivo, recently pointed out that segregated housing conditions prevail. The black miners, for example, live near the mine itself in the Arandis complex where there are 900 houses for approximately 6,000 men while the white workers are accommodated in the Vineta complex which is part of the coastal city of Swakopmund. The concern categorizes its workers by ability on a scale of one through eight and provides accommodations based on their category.

At least for now, the foreign concerns appear to be in no danger despite the harsh criticism from the government and the storm of outrage the mere mention of the word "nationalization" by the minister of mining recently unleashed. The minister quickly declared that he had been misunderstood. At the present time there is no thought of taking over because "this would create problems for our country and for our people and we have no technical experts who could run the mines." Joint ventures, however, are being considered for the future. The president of the Chamber of Mining, Mike Bates, feels relaxed about the future. Bates expects that the government will first of all pass a law protecting investments and guaranteeing unrestricted dividend return to shareholders; he adds: "I anticipate no real changes in the ownership situation."

Zambia

* ADB Loans Total \$500 Million Since 1971

34000777D Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English
27 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] The African Development Bank (ADB) has committed a total of nearly \$500 million to Zambia since 1971 making the country one of the bank's leading borrowers in sub-Saharan Africa.

Deputy director for loan administration in the ADB, Mr Edmond Dogbe, said in addition to the direct transfer of resources, the bank played a catalytic role in external resource mobilisation for Zambia and the various economic recovery programmes now in force.

Mr Dogbe said: "On our part, we take pride in associating with Zambia's efforts to alleviate poverty and achieve sustainable economic and social development."

He was addressing a three-day ADB loan administration seminar at Mulungushi International Conference Centre.

"The lending operations to Zambia totalling nearly \$500 million since 1971 demonstrate sufficiently our commitment to assist the country to achieve the required economic development," Mr Dogbe said.

He noted that with the type of lending given out both Zambia and the bank attached great importance to the successful implementation of projects and programmes in the country.

Mr Dogbe said it was for this reason that ADB considered it a priority to have regular consultative meetings of this nature with those directly responsible for technical and financial execution of projects to ensure policies and procedures established for effective project implementation were understood.

He said disbursements of the finances continued to be an area of concern to all parties, the Government, consultants and contractors and most of all the bank which considered the rate of disbursements as an indication of borrower's absorptive capacity for new loans.

"This loan administration seminar will therefore focus on familiarising participants with the bank's procurement and disbursement procedures in order to facilitate the smooth transfer of resources to Zambia," Mr Dogbe said.

Meanwhile, ADB is to introduce a pool-based variable lending rate system which will be applicable to all the loans granted to its member countries.

* Trucks, Spare Parts Needed To Collect Harvest

34000778B Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English
19 Jun 90 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] The importance of the maize haulage exercise cannot be over-emphasised, which is why we would like to implore the Government to speed up the processing of documents so that the Truckers Association of Zambia (TAZ) can bring in a new fleet of vehicles.

TAZ national chairman Cde Charles Madondo has complained that despite promises, by the Government, that arrangements to buy 200 trucks to facilitate this year's exercise, had been made, nothing concrete so far had been done.

This must be very frustrating to the truckers who are, as in previous years, keen to drive to all parts of the country to collect the nation's staple food. But how do they ferry the cargo when their vehicles are too old and the cost of spare parts prohibitive?

In fact we have come to a stage where the Zambian transporter needs special concessions to offset the money he spends on maintaining the old fleet. For example, the Zambia State Insurance Corporation [ZSIC], given the current levels, is getting millions and millions of Kwacha in comprehensive insurance for motor vehicles being imported into the country. But how much bonus is the corporation giving back to its so-called esteemed customers in terms of reduced premiums?

The truckers and other transporters are doing a commendable job under very trying circumstances and surely deserve a better deal. And the ZSIC is certainly capable of assisting them so that should a vehicle, for instance be involved in an accident they are assured of getting at least "something" instead of losing "everything."

So it seems to us that ZSIC, being a monopoly, should set the first example and bail out the hard pressed transporter.

The other area where a trucker and ordinary motorist need help is in the acquisition of spare parts. Vehicle owners are prepared to sacrifice in order to keep their fleet in tip-top condition, but they are hampered by the high cost of spares.

The Party and its Government has decontrolled prices, but the exploitation by some traders is frightening. The authorities simply have to step in to curb the rot.

It is just as well President Kaunda is currently touring the countryside by road because it will enable him to see, at first hand, the number of vehicles in rural districts which are grounded.

Is it possible to allow the newly established Engineering Services Corporation to set up spare parts sections at its branches throughout the country so the people could have access to cheaper spare parts and keep their vehicles running?

* Producer Price for Corn Unchanged for 1990-1991

34000778A Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
21 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] The Commercial Farmers Bureau [CFB] has welcomed the newly announced maize producer prices for 1990/91 season but expressed dissatisfaction over the Government's failure to raise the prices for this year's crop.

A CFB spokesman said in a statement in Lusaka yesterday the new producer announced by the Government were generally welcome by the farming community as "floor prices."

The K500 a 90 kg bag offered for maize for the 1990/91 season was only good at today's input costs.

"The bureau is however unhappy with the Government's failure to raise the producer price for this year's maize crop. When the price of K284.20 a bag was announced last year, we did mention it was sub-economic as our costings showed a realistic price of K350.00 a 90 kg," the spokesman said.

With the current rate of inflation at 120 percent, farmers expected the Government to review the price.

The bureau would soon be entering into negotiations with processors of various products so that economic prices which would reflect the ruling rate of inflation were paid to the farmers at the time of delivery.

The spokesman noted that prices of inputs such as fertiliser had been increased and farmers would find it difficult to raise money to buy them if this season's price was not reviewed.

In view of the problems farmers faced on maize price, the bureau had requested that the Government consider decontrolling marketing of maize.

Meanwhile, Indeco and the CFB have agreed to form a joint committee to map out strategies for increasing crop production and manufacturing.

The committee would discuss prices of a wide range of commodities including that of which to achieve the country's goal of self-sufficiency and economic growth.

A statement from Indeco just released says the joint committee was reached at a high-level meeting held between Indeco and the CFB recently.

* Councils 'Misuse Funds', Workers Not Paid

34000778C Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
19 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] District councils are misusing funds allocated to them on imprest resulting in their failure to pay workers salaries, Decentralisation Minister of State Cde Michael Sata said in Lusaka yesterday.

He cited district executive secretaries as the main culprits and a governor in one of the rural councils in Central Province who owes his council over K146,000 in unretired imprest.

"Most district executive secretaries are using imprest outside their districts or as salary advances and loans," he said.

Cde Sata said that all councils, except two, had misused funds and warned that officials who owed local authorities vast sums of money in unretired imprest would be dismissed.

The Prime Minister was in the process of releasing tough regulations against the culprits including dismissal for those who failed to repay unretired imprest.

Those who owed councils money should repay immediately before the Prime Minister's directive is effected.

Reacting to Press reports that some councils had failed to pay workers wages because of lack of funds, Cde Sata said:

"It has come to light that most council officials were misusing funds especially imprest."

Government had granted about K300 million to all district councils and the money had been shared according to each council's demands in the last six months adding "the question of councils saying they have no money to pay their workers is out."

Giving a summary of grants paid to district councils, Cde Sata said Lusaka Urban district council had been given about K80 million in the last six months as compared to K75 million given to it for the whole of last year.

Copperbelt Province has been given K76 million in the last six months in comparison to K132 million for last year.

Central Province was given K18.5 million for six months as against K36.4 million for last year.

Luapula had K9.5 million with last year's figure standing at K21.8 million while Eastern Province was allocated K12.3 million compared to last year's K24.3 million.

Northern Province K18.1 million with last year's amount standing at K38.3 million, Southern Province had K24.2 million and last year's figure was pegged at K46.5 million.

North-Western had K9.9 million while last year's figure stood at K24.1 million and Western Province had K10.8 million compared to K22.6 million for last year.

Last year Government gave all district councils a total of K522,910,716 million and the figure was likely to be higher for this year, Cde Sata said.

* ZCTU Denies Plan To Form Labor Party

34000779A Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
13 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] The Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) yesterday denied it had any plans to form a "Labour Party" and said people spreading such rumours only wanted to tarnish the image of the labour movement.

Assistant general secretary Cde Samuel Lungu told a Press briefing in Kitwe yesterday there had never been any thought of forming a political party.

"From the time the country was involved in the struggle for political independence, the policy of ZCTU is to support the most progressive party and we continue to pursue this policy," he said.

The labour movement decided to remain independent from any political activities but to support the party with progressive ideas and ZCTU chose UNIP [United National Independence Party].

"Our position has not yet changed. We still maintain that position of remaining autonomous and we are still able to criticise any Party or government policies which we feel are retrogressive," Cde Lungu said.

Legally, nobody was allowed to form any political party in Zambia because it was still a one-party state, he added.

Cde Lungu who was reacting to a circular outlining ZCTU alleged plans to form a political party after its meeting on June 6, said the question therefore of the labour movement forming a party was a daydream from some people who wanted to tarnish its image.

He said the views of the 19 affiliates were the same since all were represented at the general council meetings of the labour movement.

Cde Lungu said ZCTU chairman-general Cde Frederick Chiluba speaking for the labour movement called for a referendum to decide on whether to retain the one-party or revert to multi-party politics.

The call was not for him alone.

"It is therefore unfortunate that there has been talk that the call evolves around Cde Chiluba and his secretary-general Cde Newstead Zimba. These are labour leaders and what they say is said for the labour movement."

In fact, the labour movement called for the review of the present one-party system in line with the recommendations of the Chona commission.

Cde Lungu also refuted allegations that it campaigned for Cde Timothy Walamba's removal from MUZ [Mineworkers Union of Zambia], saying the decision came from the miners.

No role was played by ZCTU and the allegations were unfounded.

* Unions Say Food Hikes Negate Wage Increases

34000779B Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
22 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] The public service workers unions which clinched an 85 percent salary increase for their members last week have lodged a strong protest against the Government over the recent hike of mealie meal prices that have rendered the much acclaimed package "valueless."

Three of the four union leaders who signed the collective agreement in Lusaka yesterday accused the Government of applying double standards on negotiations.

General secretary of the Civil Servants Union of Zambia (CSUZ) Cde Alec Chirwa, Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT) general secretary Cde Albert Chibale and general secretary of the National Union of Public Service Workers (NUPSCW) Cde Willie Mbewe all conceded that they had been "tricked."

The unions were in an awkward position because the collective agreement signed at Mulungushi International Conference Centre and valid until June 30, 1992 had already been overtaken by events.

Cde Chibale and Cde Chirwa said the unions had no option but to reopen negotiations to review the conditions as dictated by the economic situation.

Cde Mbewe described the Government's move as "malicious" and did not see any point in re-opening talks until the State changes its attitude.

Civil servants, teachers and medical staff were last week awarded "hefty" salary increases and allowances but the excitement that greeted the news has suddenly disappeared after the Prime Minister Cde Malimba Masheke announced new mealie meal prices in Parliament on Wednesday.

A 25kg of mealie meal (breakfast) shot up from K114.50 to K269 and that of roller was hiked from K82.20 to K198.

Cde Chirwa said: "We are very disappointed because the mealie meal prices recently announced are outrageous and completely unjustified."

Cde Chibale said: "The essence of negotiations has lost its meaning."

ZNUT yesterday appealed to teachers to remain calm while the union was negotiating with the Government.

* Refugee Population Declines to 142,000

34000779C Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
21 Jun 90 p 1

[Excerpts] The refugee population in Zambia this year stands at 142,000 declining from 147,000 in 1987, Prime Minister Gen Malimba Masheke disclosed yesterday.

Cde Masheke who did not give figures for 1988/9 said even though there has been this drop because of the independence of Namibia and some positive changes in South Africa, the conflicts in Angola and Mozambique which showed no signs of abating would continue to pour more refugees into Zambia.

Cde Masheke was speaking at the American dome in the showgrounds on the occasion marking Africa refugees day which was on yesterday.

In a speech read for him by Minister of Tourism Cde Pickson Chitambala, Cde Masheke said even refugees from South Africa would keep coming to Zambia as the situation in the racist republic could go either way before normalcy is retained.

"Zambia's geo-political position, on the other hand, is such that refugees even from countries that Zambia does not share borders with, still run here. These facts mean that Zambia will continue to receive refugees for quite some time to come," Cde Masheke said.

Referring to Eastern Europe which he did mention by name, the premier said political stability in Africa could be easily threatened "by political development in far off lands with possibilities of causing upheavals."

"Thus the refugee problem in Africa as a whole is indeed a grim lingering reality," he added. [passage omitted]

But he expressed Zambia's appreciation to the donor agencies for the help they were rendering to the refugees.

Noting the theme for this year's occasion—"uprooted but not hopeless,"—Cde Masheke said although the most "enviable and durable solution to the refugee problem is repatriation no refugee would be repatriated against his wish.—ZANA.

* Iraq Proposes Exchange of Oil for Copper

34000769A Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
14 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] Iraqi trade minister Mr Mohammed Saleh told President Kaunda yesterday his country had proposed a five-year economic cooperation programme involving the exchange of copper and oil between Zambia and Iraq.

Mr Saleh who is leading a delegation to the Zambia/Iraq joint permanent commission said when he called on Cde Kaunda at State House that his country was considering the possibility of increasing its purchases of copper from Zambia and was prepared to pay in oil or hard cash.

The Iraqi trade minister speaking in the presence of ministers for Commerce and Industry and Mines, Cde Rabbison Chongo and Cde Mulondwe Muzungu respectively, said negotiations for the economic cooperation package were going on with the relevant agencies.

Earlier Cde Kaunda asked the people of Iraq and Zambia to continue building on the bilateral relations established.—Times Reporter/Zana.

* Japanese Aid To Construct Crop Storage Sheds

34000769B Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
26 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] The perennial problems of crop wastage because of haulage difficulties will soon end as the Japanese government has embarked on a multi-million Kwacha storage facilities building programme covering the whole country.

Yesterday three grain houses at Mumbwa and Kalomo were commissioned to avoid losses suffered in the past when most maize was soaked at rural depots where there were no storage facilities.

Prime Minister General Malimba Masheke, said the wastage of crops frustrated farmers' efforts to grow more.

He thanked the Japanese government for helping in setting up storage sheds in several parts of the country.

When he commissioned the Mumbwa storage sheds which can hold 5,000 metric tonnes of grain, he said following a shortage of transport there was need to speed up the construction of grain storage houses in all major crop producing areas in the country.

Speaking for the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Cde Justin Mukando he said the storage sheds set up in the countryside had a total capacity to hold 15,000 tonnes.

Their erection was made possible by the aid of the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) which offered more than K40 million for the sheds.

The Premier said the storage houses would be useful as Zambia would be able to keep its grain well unlike in the past when tonnes of it was lost through mishandling.

"Problems of poor rural infrastructure, lack of inputs, inadequate transport and insufficient storage facilities continue to pose serious challenges to agricultural development," Cde Masheke said.

Handing over the sheds to the Zambia Cooperative Federation, first secretary at the Japanese embassy Mr Yu Yakahashi said his government was pleased about Zambia's policy of advancing agriculture.

Ivory Coast

* Inflated CFA Franc 'Crippling' Local Markets

90AF0359A London AFRICAN ANALYSIS
in English 8 Jun 90 p 12

[Text] Abidjan—Ivorian manufacturers are being crippled by a rising tide of illegal low-cost imports. The size and relative sophistication of the domestic market render them more vulnerable to contraband than their counterparts elsewhere in francophone Africa. And sit-ins notwithstanding, the frequency of flights through Abidjan's international airport facilitates a rapid turnover of contraband traffickers.

If itinerant market mammals and corruption-prone customs officials are key players in the conspiracy, the real villain of the piece is the CFA [African Financial Community] franc with its excessive value vis-a-vis the naira. The list of casualties lengthens daily. Several textile companies have already folded up, victims of an invasion of cheap Nigerian cloth. Recently, the country's last remaining shoe manufacturer shut down.

Nor are the difficulties merely local. The government-owned oil refinery can no longer compete with Nigerian petroleum products spirited into Burkina Faso and Niger, both hitherto classified as captive markets. And now Cote d'Ivoire's fragile industrial fabric is being threatened by the resurgence of manufacturing activity in Ghana, whose heavily devalued cedi will increasingly encourage one-way cross-border trade. Publicly, officials in Abidjan and in Paris—which effectively underwrites the CFA franc by guaranteeing its parity with the French franc—insist there is no question of modifying the exchange rate between the two currencies.

When prodded, officials privately concede that a devaluation of the CFA franc makes eminent economic and financial sense. Indeed Cote d'Ivoire's commercial creditors have made a rescheduling of outstanding loans conditional on a devaluation of some 90 percent. Moreover, a realignment in this direction would make Cote d'Ivoire more attractive to outsiders. Existing investors whose fingers have been burnt by devaluation may be tempted to pull out, but with costs falling, would-be newcomers should be encouraged. The inevitable, insiders insist, is imminent.

* Work Rights Extended to Lebanese Firms

90AF0290A Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French
14 Jun 90 p 2

[By P. M. Abiali]

[Text] The anarchy of certain Lebanese businesses not complying with the labor laws has ended. Changes will be in effect as of 1 July. All workers in Lebanese companies will receive the same rights as all other Ivorian employees. The decision was reached by the ad hoc UGTCI [General Union of Ivory Coast Workers]

commission and Lebanese employers during a meeting last Tuesday at the Bourse de Travail before representatives of all the workers' unions.

It was a happy settlement of the situation that prevailed the last few days between the workers in Lebanese firms and their employers. The workers, it will be remembered, circulated tracts announcing a 48-hour work stoppage. As a result of this conflict, an ad hoc commission was named to examine all the demands of the employees of certain Lebanese companies. During last Tuesday's meeting, dialogue and candor prevailed. The secretary general of the UGTCI, Mr. Ahibee Kouassi Jean, was led to salute the "spirit of understanding of the Lebanese employers in agreeing to apply the work laws and thus ending the conflict."

To the workers' unions, the speaker urged high-quality, serious, and objective work taking into account the other side's interests.

Speaking for the Lebanese employers, Messrs. Farhat Salim and Bou Daou Michel expressed their interest in doing everything in their power to clarify the situation that had tended to tarnish the public image of the Lebanese community. In fact, explained the two spokespersons, it is a minority that did not apply the labor laws. Mr. Bou Daou Michel added an important detail: The irregularities allegedly committed by certain "black sheep" will be corrected very quickly in a spirit of equity. In all, the employers appeared willing to pay the sums owed to the workers who will be regularized if they are not already.

As of 1 July, the workers in certain Lebanese companies will begin receiving pay slips, annual paid vacations, and paid public holidays. They will also be enrolled in the National Social Welfare Fund, thereby receiving full social rights. A circular containing this information will be sent to all Lebanese companies, both in the interior of the country and in Abidjan, in accord with UGTCI and the employers in the Lebanese companies.

The ad hoc commission will meet 2 July to monitor the implementation of the official decisions.

Liberia

Members of Krahn Tribe Leave for Ivory Coast

AB3007121890 London BBC World Service in English
2200 GMT 29 Jul 90

[From the "News Hour" program hosted by Oliver South]

[Text] The crisis in Liberia appears to be lurching finally to some kind of climax which may well be as bloody and untidy as the months of civil war which has preceded it. Two rival groups of rebels are still pushing toward the Executive Mansion of President Samuel Doe, whose position appears hopeless. Charles Taylor, leader of the mainstream National Patriotic Front of Liberia, has already declared himself head of a new provisional government. But

a smaller group of guerrillas, led by a former Taylor associate, Prince Johnson, are also fighting government troops in the center of the capital, Monrovia. Our West Africa correspondent, Elizabeth Blunt has been up to the border today. She is on the line now.

[Begin recording] [South] Liz, are refugees streaming across the border now?

[Blunt] Yes, they are, and they are different sort of refugees now. Ivory Coast has been receiving refugees since the beginning of this year. There was a great flood in January and February and then a bit of a lull. And now there is a new influx in the area where I was, the little towns of Toulepleu and Bolekin. They are getting at least 1,000 refugees a day at the moment; and these are people mostly from President Doe's area, his home village area, and his own tribe, the Krahn refugees, who have not been coming across before, but are coming across now in considerable numbers from his region of Liberia, which is a long way from the main fighting. But obviously they have decided that there is reason to be scared and they are coming across now into the Ivory Coast.

[South] So are we looking at what is, in one sense at least, becoming a much clearer conflict, and that is, defined really by tribal divisions?

[Blunt] Yes, very much. It is a tribal division now in many ways. The people who came across before were members of the Gio tribe who have been identified with the rebels. Now it is their next door neighbors, the Krahn, who identified with the present government, and they are coming across in considerable numbers. And what is interesting, if you go to the border, you can find out now what is going on on the other side, and the rebels have crossed the river that divides the two tribes. They came across the river about a month ago, which sparked off the first influx of refugees into the Ivory Coast. They took a fairly important town called Tota or Tobli at the beginning of July. They advanced a little further. They are up to the border now, at certain points from the Ivorian border you see the rebels on the other bank, which has posed some problems with the local population. The rebel leaders have told local Ivorian officials that they are now getting very close to President Doe's village. They have reached the next village along from Tuzohn, and have got it surrounded. And they said they were just waiting for orders from the boss to decide whether to attack it. But of course, they could have been bluffing. But that is what they told the Ivorian officials.

[South] And what have you been able to make out about what is happening in Monrovia, in the capital?

[Blunt] Well, Monrovia is very far from this area. But there are two separate theaters of war, really. Obviously, the main battle for power is going on in Monrovia. We heard today there has been fighting in the east of the town around a radio station, apparently because of some of the government troops trying to break out of an Army camp where they were surrounded. What is going on in the northeast next to the Ivory Coast is a separate battle,

but it is important because it is President Doe's home area. He has been sending men up there, and arms. He has been sending his own people turning it into a bit of a fortress. But now as far as one can judge from this side of the border, the Krahn men are not totally confident because what is happening is that Krahn men are bringing in their families—women and children—leaving them in safety in the Ivory Coast, and then going back, as if for a last battle. [end recording]

Prince Johnson's Remarks on Taylor Cited

AB3007154090 London BBC World Service in English
1310 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "24 Hours" program]

[Text] In the West African Republic of Liberia, the beleaguered president, Samuel Doe, is still holding out in the Executive Mansion in Monrovia. But the forces of rebel leader, Prince Johnson, say that they are poised to attack. At the same time, Prince Johnson has said he intends to stop the better known rebel leader, Charles Taylor from making himself president. Taylor has already named his future government, but Prince Johnson says that that is not all, and that Taylor was nothing but a Libyan-backed left-winger and a criminal who jumped jail in the United States. I have been talking about this new power struggle with the BBC's Elizabeth Blunt who watches Liberia from across the border in the Ivory Coast. I asked her whether it is now likely that Prince Johnson will come out on top?

[Begin recording] [Blunt] Well, it certainly looks as if it is going to be Johnson's men rather than Taylor's men who get to the Executive Mansion and who drive out or capture President Doe, if either of them does. It is Johnson's men that have been doing the serious fighting. I think what is impressive is that they have shown sufficient determination and discipline actually to advance under fire, and to fight their way street to street and hand to hand through the city, whereas Taylor's men on the whole have made raids. And if the government army does run away, they have been a bit nonplussed and they have not held their positions. They have always retreated after advancing during the day.

Johnson's men, although less numerous, seem to be definitely more professional, and they are in the center of the city, whereas Taylor's people are still blocked in the eastern suburbs.

[Perman] And yet Taylor has already announced what he calls his government, including his wife, Agnes as the health minister.

[Blunt] He is a very clever man. He is certainly not stupid or shortsighted. He may think that this is perhaps good tactics that he keeps his group of men relatively safe and intact. He has got the mouthpiece because he has got control over working radio stations. And he lets Prince Johnson and his men do the fighting, hold themselves against the Executive Mansion which is going to be very

difficult to take, risk their lives, while he does the organization on the political level. And it is always possible, of course, that that may pay off in the end.

[Perman] What do we know about Prince Johnson? He is a very different sort, it seems, from Charles Taylor?

[Blunt] Yes, he is different in very many ways. He is from the area where the rebellion began. He is a Nimba man, a Gio by tribe. And so of course, are most of the people who are fighting. So that is a plus-point, as far as his men are concerned. Taylor is not really a fighting man. He is Americo-Liberian by background, he is a businessman, he is a wheeler-dealer. He is very much more a civilian. People who have met Prince Johnson say he is much more a soldier's soldier. And they said to me that they did not get the impression that he did want to be president. But he would no doubt love to run the army, love to be a military commander. He is very much in love with fighting, in love with the idea of war. He is a huge man. He is six foot three, six foot four tall, very big, very imposing. And of course that goes down well with his boys as well. And he dresses them in some kind of uniform, which Taylor does not. They have got much more of a sort of professional mystic. [as received]

[Perman] Well, supposing they do overthrow President Samuel Doe—and presumably Samuel Doe cannot hold on for ever—there must be some conflict between Prince Johnson and Charles Taylor and their men?

[Blunt] Certainly, there is not much love lost between them, and what they have both been saying in the last few days bears that out. Johnson, who met some journalists yesterday in the center of town, was very rude about Taylor. He said he is not going to come here now and make himself president. He said: I will meet Taylor after Doe is overthrown. I do not want power, I want a fair election, but Taylor will manipulate the election. And at the same time, on the other side of town, Taylor is saying that he has had problems with Prince Johnson, and saying that he would grant him clemency. It does not sound to me as if Prince Johnson feels he needs to be granted clemency by Charles Taylor. [end recording]

'At Least' 200 Reportedly Killed at Church

AB3007163290 London BBC World Service in English
1500 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "Newsreel" program]

[Text] First reports from the Liberian capital, Monrovia, say soldiers of the army of President Samuel Doe have attacked a church, where hundreds of people were sheltering from the fighting, massacring in it sleeping inhabitants. Eyewitnesses estimated as many as 200 men, women, and children have been killed. Our West Africa correspondent, Elizabeth Blunt, reports:

[Begin Blunt recording] For the thousand or more people who have taken refuge there, Saint Peter's Lutheran Church seemed a safe haven from the army death squads

which roamed the suburbs of Monrovia at night, looking for people from the Gio and Mano tribes whom they accuse of supporting the rebels. The conditions in the church and school buildings, where they were housed, were overcrowded and insanitary, but the Red Cross flags flew at each corner of the compound and they felt more secure under church and Red Cross protection.

But last night, the refuge became a death trap. Reports from Monrovia said that the soldiers broke in at two o'clock in the morning, when people there were sleeping and massacred the inhabitants. Journalists in the city quote eyewitnesses as saying that they saw bodies hanging from the windows of the buildings and women lying dead with their heads smashed in, babies still tied to their backs. The eyewitnesses said that, at least, 200 people died, a figure borne out by diplomats in the city, who spoke of several hundred dead. Diplomats and aid workers in Monrovia had already warned about the vulnerability of the centers just because so many Gio and Mano people were concentrated in one place, including young men who might be suspected of planning to join the rebels when they finally reach the city. [end recording]

Massacre Toll Up to 600

AB3007205490 London BBC World Service in English
2000 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "World News" program]

[Text] Soldiers loyal to President Samuel Doe of Liberia have been blamed for the massacre of hundreds of people sheltering from the fighting in the capital, Monrovia. Eyewitnesses said the soldiers broke into the compound of St. Peter's Lutheran Church in the east of the city during the night and shot or battered to death at least 600 people, including women and children. Earlier reports spoke of 200 killed. Many of the victims were members of the Gio and Mano tribes which are said to support the rebels. But in a statement to the BBC, a spokesman for President Doe said rebels themselves dressed in government uniforms carried out the killings.

Soldiers are also reported to have tried to enter another refuge, a technical college nearby but were persuaded by monks there to leave. The massacre has been strongly condemned by the United States, the United Nations, and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

In continuing fighting in Monrovia, eyewitnesses said rebel forces have been forced back from positions near the government-held radio station in Paynesville, about six miles from the city center. Fighting is also reported around the ELWA commercial radio station, two miles further to the east. It was previously held by the rebels.

Government Troops Withdrawing From FM Station

AB3007170890 Paris AFP in English 1604 GMT
30 Jul 90

[Text] Paynesville, Liberia, July 30 (AFP)—Rebels pursued government soldiers withdrawing from a radio

station through this outlying suburb of Monrovia Monday [30 Jul]. About 100 guerrillas of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] fanned out from the crossroads to try to outflank the soldiers, small groups of whom could be seen less than a kilometre down the road.

Sporadic gunfire crackled out as rebel commanders mustered further forces at the crossroads, bringing up heavy machine-guns and a B10 recoilless gun, which boomed over the sprawling residential zone. Heavy fighting had raged around the FM radio station on Sunday, about seven kilometres from the city centre, but Monday men loyal to President Samuel Doe were moving northeast skirting the capital through palm tree-covered suburbs.

Commander Samuel Lartoe claimed rebels had captured the radio station, but sporadic gunfire could still be heard there Monday afternoon. The soldiers passed the 72d Battalion barracks where remnants of the force were believed to be hanging on. It seemed likely as the fighting continued that the barracks was being abandoned too.

A 25-strong commando had moved on the barracks earlier Monday, advancing beside two trucks, occasionally blasting away with a heavy machine-gun and drawing automatic gun fire. Once the ammunition ran low the rebels pulled back to the crossroads. The bullets which whizzed over the road appeared properly targeted while NPFL firing was often wild without any enemy in sight.

On Sunday government soldiers apparently fighting their way back into Monrovia from Scheffelin army camp were caught in the NPFL attack on the FM station. Rebels had cut off Scheffelin, 30 kms (18 miles) down the coast, as they pushed onto the capital leaving an estimated 100-150 government troops cut off.

The soldiers were trying to get back into Monrovia where ex-Master Sergeant Doe is holed up, said Commander Lartoe as he prepared to move off. But it was not clear how many soldiers were pulling back.

Woewiyu Says Johnson 'Being Put up by Someone'

AB3007191090 London BBC World Service in English 1709 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In the early months of this war, it was clear that the rebels were being led exclusively by Charles Taylor. But a couple of months back, the name, Prince Johnson, began to crop up. He was said to be one of Taylor's officers who had executed some of Taylor's special forces without authorization, thus incurring Taylor's anger. Gradually, as the situation in Monrovia deteriorated, it appeared that Johnson was leading a separate rebel force hostile to Charles Taylor, although since no independent witness had spoken to him, it was a report difficult to access. Now, however, he has come out of the shadow to talk to journalists in Monrovia, as they report in this joint telex from Monrovia sent yesterday.

[Begin studio announcer recording] Johnson said in his first meeting with foreign journalists that he and not Taylor was leading the main rebel attack. Dressed in camouflage fatigues and with field glasses hung around his neck, Johnson spoke to reporters from the back of a heavily armed pickup truck in an area of Monrovia wrecked by the civil war. Bodies littered the rainswept streets. As he spoke, there were bullet cases strewn everywhere and most buildings were riddled with bullet holes from the three days of heavy fighting in the center of the city. Johnson said that he would not allow Taylor to become president. I will meet Taylor after Doe is overthrown, Johnson said. I do not want power. I want a fair election. The rebel commander, claiming that he had a force of 7,000 men, 4,000 of whom were deserters from Doe's army, said I will get Doe. He is not going to get away. As Johnson spoke, his forces moved gradually closer to the center of Monrovia, capturing street after street of the downtown area in ferocious battles. The bodies of dozens of civilians shot down by retreating government troops late on Saturday [28 Jul] littered the streets while rebels made their way through the deafening sound of heavy gunfire toward President Doe's Executive Mansion. President Doe remained barricaded in the mansion surrounded by an elite guard of his remaining Krahn troops. Rebels, who stood guard on street corners near banks and the filling stations, said that they were under Johnson's command. One of them said: We are here to get rid of Samuel Doe as he drew a finger across his throat in a significant gesture. [end recording]

So, Prince Johnson is claiming to be in control and is promising to stop Charles Taylor from taking power. On the line to the United States, Elizabeth Ohene asked Charles Taylor's spokesman, Tom Woewiyu, what his reaction to that was.

[Begin recording] [Woewiyu] We do not see Prince Johnson as having any kind of force or authority to stop the Patriotic Front from carrying out a government as we have planned. What we see is that Prince Johnson is being put up by someone as a factor to confuse the situation because we are almost at an end where we have Doe cornered.

[Ohene] So, who do you think is putting up Prince Johnson?

[Woewiyu] Well, most of the information we have is coming from ... [changes thought] is coming from ... [changes thought again] is being confirmed by the American Embassy and the American State Department as Prince Johnson being a force. We know that there is no force in the city of Monrovia belonging to Prince Johnson. I have been trying to figure out; several others have also been trying to figure where the so-called reporters have seen him. We now know that we talk to people here and we found out that he has been speaking to the American ambassador from what we understand. For us...

[Ohene, interrupting] Mr. Woewiyu, Mr. Woewiyu.

[Woewiyu] Yes.

[Ohene] Are you suggesting that Mr. Prince Johnson is being put up and supported by the Americans?

[Woewiyu] I can only suspect that, because I do not see any other country, or any other force in the country now that is confirming what Prince Johnson is saying except the American Embassy.

[Ohene] Do you now regard Prince Johnson and his forces as the enemy? Would you be fighting them also?

[Woewiyu] For us, Prince Johnson doesn't have forces. Prince Johnson is a killer that is on the run and the good thing that had happened is that he showed up in the middle of the city and just about the same perimeter where we have Doe surrounded. So, it will be a good thing that now we can, with one stone, get rid of the birds that are haunting the country. As soon as it is possible, Prince Johnson and the Doe situation will be put under control at the same time. [end recording]

Doe Spokesman Says Radio ELWA Retaken

*AB3007174490 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 30 Jul 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] This morning, a spokesman for what is left of the government of President Doe called us from the Executive Mansion in Monrovia where President Doe and his personal guard are besieged by rebel forces. Elizabeth Ohene spoke to him. Here is her report.

[Begin Ohene recording] The presidential spokesman, who called us up at lunchtime was adamant that government troops had not been responsible for any killing of civilians. He alleged that rebel troops had been wearing government uniforms to confuse the population. He said that after yesterday's very intense fighting, Monrovia was relatively calm today, even though, according to him, there was shooting around the National Bank area.

He said that the Executive Mansion was well-protected, and they even have hundreds of volunteers fighting to defend the president. He again rejected any suggestion that President Doe should resign, and argued that, considering that the rebel forces were split into two rival factions, President Doe's resignation would lead to a bloodbath. The spokesman said President Doe was the leader of, and I quote, the majority indigenous people, and those fighting him have only money and the benefits of contacts with the United States Government on their side.

The spokesman said that government troops had retaken the ELWA radio station from Charles Taylor's forces in yesterday's bitter fighting. He said: We blasted the station and we took many rebels prisoner. The spokesman expressed President Doe's thanks and appreciation to the five Western ambassadors in Liberia who yesterday called on the United

Nations and the international community to help restore peace in Liberia. [end recording]

Chaos Reportedly Reigns Among NPFL Rebels

*AB3107074090 Paris AFP in English 0641 GMT
31 Jul 90*

[By Barry Parker]

[Text] Paynesville, Liberia, July 31 (AFP)—Arms waving, Commander Gorgbahn Junior shouts "I don't want scary men with me," as he tries to muster a rebel unit to go and fight. "Get away," he yells shoving a boy back, attempting to order his braver comrades into line.

Automatic weapons fire crackles out beyond a bend down the main road where army soldiers are holed up.

The scene in the yard behind the Duport road store at a junction on the outskirts of Monrovia is typical of the chaos correspondents witness daily among the indisciplined ranks of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

As 32-year-old Junior looks for sure elements among the 70 or so armed young men around the store, one of the rejects weaves off on a child's bicycle.

Zorze Junior, wearing a girls dress, does not look too concerned as he cycles up and down, AK47 over his shoulder. He says he is 13 but his one metre 42 (four feet eight inches) make him look younger.

The store has been looted, like virtually every worthwhile building on the road to the capital since the rebels began living off the land as they swept down from the Nimba County hills last December 24 to try to oust President Samuel Doe. Rubbish litters the floors, the windows are smashed and everywhere is filthy, inside and out. The streets are strewn with bricks and bottles, broken glass, bullets and their casing.

Adding to the desolation are the carcasses of a variety of vehicles—abandoned, crashed or casualties of the civil war, all stripped of anything valuable.

The truckloads of gun-toting rebels arrive, warning lights flashing—a supposed code.

Out jumps a more senior commander, Samuel Lartoe, screaming for the men to head for the centre of Paynesville, a mile away, where government soldiers have been engaging the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia].

Rifle raised, he chases after a group who have set off swiftly the opposite way.

"Where you go?" Lartoe yells, "Come here, now, here."

He snatches a gun off one of the fleeing boys and tries to drag another youngster back with him. Sporting a baseball cap, the bearded commander rushes into the store yard, still bawling at the idling men. He fires a shot in the air and finally about 25 straggle into line. Lartoe takes each of their weapons, checks and loads before thrusting

the gun back as a comrade nearby cuts open a box of ammunition with a kitchen knife.

A pickup truck heads to Paynesville crossroads and rebels, in their assortment of gaily-coloured battledress and hats, much of it from women's wardrobes, are piling into another vehicle. As the rebels reach the crossroad a semblance of order emerges. Army soldiers are visible safely out of firing range further down the road.

Three rebel units of about 20 men each move off through the wreckage of market stalls, straight down the side of the road and around the back in an apparent bid to outflank the soldiers. Whenever correspondents follow the rebels up to their firing line some start blasting away wildly with nothing in their sights. Such tactics have the undoubted advantage of seldom leading to casualties although the waste of ammunition is tremendous. Government troops appear far better trained and direct their fire at definite targets.

Terrain is gained usually when the soldiers pull back rather than after inflicting serious losses. It is by no means uncommon to hear a distant shot and see a rebel spin round and fire off a round in the general direction.

Once ammunition runs low, the rebels pull back. They may reload and return or just hang around in a safe place until roused by an angry commander. No one really seems too worried. Communication is by word of mouth most of the time and handfuxs of rebels wandering along with no particular aim are a frequent sight. Despite such military shortcomings the NPFL led by former civil servant Charles Taylor has advanced to within sight of ex-Master Sergeant Doe's Executive Mansion.

Mr. Taylor has announced a new government, set a seemingly impossible six-month deadline for elections and declared his candidacy for the presidency of a country in which nothing is functioning.

His chances of final victory seem endangered only by his failure to win U.S. support and by a split in the rebel ranks which has seen his former chief commander, Prince Johnson, launch his own bid for power with a separate assault on Monrovia.

Senegal

* Casamance Military Governor Viewed Favorably

90AF0360B Dakar SUD HEBDO in French

14 Jun 90 p 3

[Article by Omar Diatta: "Casamance: All-Out Cooperation"]

[Text] "Our basic objective is to restore peace to people's minds and hearts, guarantee the safety of persons and property, and effectively pursue implementation of the regional economic and social development plan for the

benefit of our peoples. Specific structures will be established to study the possible causes of the present situation and to adopt solutions likely to restore peace...before the exigencies of respect for our laws and regulations alone dangerously bring the situation to a head." This statement was made by General Amadou Abdoulaye Dieng, the new governor of the Ziguinchor Region, who was officially sworn in on Wednesday, last 6 June. Although he delivered his statement in the form of this declaration of political tenets, he did reiterate his complete readiness, but also his resoluteness [to take action] whenever the situation should require it. A commitment like this certainly meets with the support of the population, which has been traumatized by a wave of terrorism and foaming at the mouth. Applying deeds to words, he set to work immediately. Thus, after extending his hand in friendship to the "former military" rebels whom he claimed to acknowledge, the new governor is granting all the heads of the 508 villages and presidents of the 25 rural communities a collective audience (expanded to include political officials) today.

Commander of the Southern District at the start of the events that took place in 1982-83, this man, whose nomination was received with a great sigh of relief by the public in Ziguinchor, is not in strange territory. He is in fact benefiting from a populace that is prejudiced in his favor, particularly among the young people whom he has always liked and helped, especially within the framework of Casa-Sports. These assets will no doubt enable him to achieve his mission, which, as some people see it, has every chance of succeeding.

Another cause for hope—we point out here—is the fact that military governors have always been the best servants of the peoples of the Casamance region. The case of Colonel Amadou Belal Ly, respected by the local peoples who of their own accord named a public square after him, is eloquent proof of this. But the situation has changed since then. Confronted with the new situation, which is deteriorating every day (attacks in Bignona and Lindiane resulting in a total of 13 wounded on 7 and 8 June), the former traditionally important personages, men and women and from all ethnic groups combined, rallied en masse on Sunday, 10 June, to the appeal made by Mr. Robert Sagna, the chairman of the municipal council. Assessing the magnitude of the challenge and the responsibilities incumbent on them individually and collectively, they pledged to spare no effort to help the administration to restore peace and safety to the region as quickly as possible. The most aggressive speeches were those of the women, who did not hesitate to describe the men as "incompetents and liars." On that occasion they demanded that the men make way for them if they [the men] are "incompetent." This first meeting of the former personages with Mr. R. Sagna in which his political opponents, who were present in the region, did not participate was the first step in a series of discussions that will be expanded on Tuesday, 12 June, to include officials of the village associations who reside in Dakar, where the presence of members of several political parties has been noted.

*** Reportage on World Council of Islamic Appeal**

*** CMAI Head Arrives**

90AF0319A Dakar LE SOLEIL in French
7 May 90 p 17

[Text] Dr. Ahmed Mohamed Cherif, secretary general of the World Council of Islamic Appeal (CMAI), arrived yesterday evening at Dakar-Yoff airport.

Mr. Cherif is in Dakar to participate in the ninth session of the CMAI. The head of state will preside at the opening of the session this afternoon at the CICES [expansion unknown].

When he left the plane, Ahmed Mohamed Cherif was met by Moustapha Ka, minister of culture and communication; Moustapha Cisse, the Senegalese ambassador to Tunisia; and Abdoul Aziz Sy, Jr., among numerous other personalities of the Muslim world.

In a brief statement, Mr. Cherif explained the purpose of his presence in Senegal, a land of welcome and hospitality that he has the pleasure of visiting for the second time.

Mr. Cherif also praised our country's responsible character, which explains it being chosen to host the congress, and the excellence of the existing relations between Colonel al-Qadhdhafi and President Abdou Diouf.

*** Background on AMAI**

90AF0319B Dakar LE SOLEIL in French
7 May 90 p 17

[Article by P.B. Samb]

[Text] The Islamic World Council meets every year in one of the member countries in the Arab World, Asia, and Africa to discuss cultural, scientific, economic, and social issues. Along with the congress, the executive committee, and the general secretariat, it is one of the bodies of the "Dahwa" (World Association of Islamic Appeal—AMAI), assigned to follow up implementation of decisions and recommendations of the congress.

The AMAI dates from 13 May 1972, in application of a resolution of the first congress of the Islamic Appeal in December 1970 in Tripoli, where the headquarters is located. The AMAI is devoted to the service of Islam and works to spread the Koran message, promote Arabic language, the language of the Koran, and to implement the ideals and principles of Islam, the religion of peace, solidarity, justice, and progress. Thus, the association has preachers specially trained to work around the world, within and outside Islamic countries. In 1974 it created the Islamic Appeal College where students of various countries take four-year courses culminating in an "Islamic Appeal international degree."

The association has observer status in a number of international organizations and Islamic institutions: it is a member of the UN Economic and Social Council,

UNESCO, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OCI), the League of Islamic Universities, the board of directors of the Islamic University of Niger, and it sponsors organizations such as the Union of Muslims of East, Central and Southern Africa, the World Council of Muslim Youth in London, and the Union of Mosque Imams of the United Kingdom.

The AMAI has signed a cooperation agreement with UNESCO. In an agreement with the latter, it has already carried out a number of joint projects, including research and development of water sources in the drought-afflicted Sahel countries to the benefit of those countries, as well as the literacy program in Africa. The rewriting of history is also an aspect covered by the agreements with UNESCO. A cultural agreement also involves organization of teacher training courses, publication of books, and preparation of seminars. In this context, a seminar was held in Dakar in July to August 1989. An agreement with the OCI provides for assistance to universities, schools, and mosques.

The association has other agreements to its credit. It has offices around the world, and representatives in a number of countries where it has very numerous accomplishments: Islamic centers, hospitals, schools, mosques, Islamic colleges, institutes, libraries, etc. It has sent more than 30 medical vehicle units, well supplied with medicines and nutrition supplies to several Muslim countries. The AMAI also makes grants to welfare organizations, grants scholarships and performs other actions that are no less important.

Within the past few months, an office was established in Dakar (Calmette Street) implementing a headquarters agreement. The AMAI participated in the program of solidarity to benefit victims of the Senegalese-Mauritanian conflict with a check for 30 million CFA [African Financial Community] francs turned over by Doctor Cherif to the administrator of displaced persons. In January, a shipment of medicines worth 36 million was given to the Ministry of Health.

The ninth session of the Islamic World Council will doubtless provide a new impetus to the solidarity within the AMAI.

*** Head Urges More Projects**

90AF0319C Dakar LE SOLEIL in French
9 May 90 p 11

[Article by E.H.A. Mbaye]

[Text] The winds blowing in the Eastern countries, simultaneously sweeping away the most secular ideologies and structures, have not spared the Muslim world. This is the conclusion of the secretary general of Dahwa, Dr. Ahmed Mohamed Cherif. "This is why," in his opinion, "Muslims should stop reacting to events and take concrete action. Today, the Islamic ummah is no longer what he once was, that is, a genuine force for

development." Unification of Muslims is an unavoidable necessity in order to establish a better world. Thus, this session of the World Council of Islamic Appeal is dealing with topics of special importance to this time when the world map must be remade. According to Dr. Ahmed Mohamed Cherif: "For some time Muslims have been absent and not participating in the reshaping of the world structure. They are on the sidelines of activities at the time when a thorough analysis of world events should impel them as human beings to act." In Ahmed Mohamed Cherif's view, the Islamic Conference is another period of the Muslims' Appeal. That is why realistic, practical and scientific programs of action must be developed. In this connection, the Dawha secretary general revealed that actions have been undertaken with organizations involved in the CMAIS [World Council of Islamic Appeal]. These actions, which are only in their initial stages, are nevertheless opportunities to achieve great successes in this new context currently prevailing. Cooperation activities should thus be intensified. Dr. Ahmed Mohamed Cherif then thanked Senegal, its president and people for having agreed to host this CMAIS session. Also, President Abdou Diouf's speech was approved as the working document for the session, which continues its proceedings at Novotel.

* 1991 OCI Summit in Dakar

90AF0319D Dakar LE SOLEIL in French
10 May 90 p 3

[Text] Commenting on the organization in our capital next year of the Islamic Umma commonly called the OCI [Organization of the Islamic Conference] summit, Moustapha Ka revealed that it will actually take place on the planned date, that is, in January 1991.

The minister of culture and communication was replying to a question by a local party organ. It was thus a categorical denial of this report. Moustapha Ka rejected supporting a rumor and gave the assurance—for those having doubts—that the conference would indeed take place.

He revealed that there is no delay in carrying out the work on the Almaies complex where the Muslim world conference is to be held. The preparation is proceeding normally with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

* CMAI Contribution for Mosque

90AF0319E Dakar LE SOLEIL in French
10 May 90 p 8

[Text] On the sideline of the ninth session of the World Conference of Islamic Appeal under way in Dakar, the members of the CMAIS [World Council of Islamic Appeal], led by Dr. Ahmed Mohamed Cherif, paid a courtesy visit yesterday to the Khalif general of the Tidjanis, El Hadj Abdoul Aziz Sy, at Tivaouane. It was an opportunity for the CMAIS delegation to renew its commitment to the Khalif of the Tidjanis, to whom Dr. Ahmed Mohamed Cherif, secretary general of the conference, turned over an envelope of 25 million CFA

[African Financial Community] francs as its contribution for building the grand mosque of Tivaouane. An opportunity also for the CMAIS members to pay stirring tribute to head of state and President Abdou Diouf and to Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi for their substantial contribution to development and promotion of Islam. Dr. Ahmed Mohamed Cherif took advantage of the visit to convey to the Khalif general of the Tidjanis the greetings of the Guide of the Libyan Revolution, whose esteem and respect for El Hadj Abdoul Aziz Sy were emphasized by the CMAIS secretary general.

Dr. Ahmed Mohamed Cherif also thanked President Abdou Diouf for enabling this meeting in Senegal. He expressed satisfaction at the stature and audience of the head of state within the Islamic world, and pleasure that the next Islamic summit will be held in Dakar, the first in black Africa, which will give President Abdou Diouf the honor of chairing the Islamic conference for three years. In this connection, he called on all Muslims to maintain solidarity and to support President Abdou Diouf in this noble mission.

We should note that the CMAIS secretary general was made an honorary citizen of the town of Tivaouane. The medal was presented to him by El Hadj Moustapha Niang, mayor of the town. It was a symbolic act expressing the importance that the people of the holy town attach to the World Council and all who are working for Islam and world solidarity.

* Infrastructure 'Lacking' in Casamance Region

90AF0334A Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
25-31 May 90 p 6

[Article by Ousseynou Gueye: "The Impossible Take-off"; first paragraph is WAL FADJRI introduction]

[Text] Six years ago the region of Casamance split into two, with Ziguinchor on one side and Kolda on the other. For upper Casamance, which gained regional status, it was the dream of real development finally come true. Six years have now gone by and the only changes in Kolda are administrative ones.

What strikes the visitor disembarking in Kolda is its extreme destitution: One has a tough time selling it as a regional capital. It bears no resemblance to a modern city bustling with activity, and certain of the country's lesser cities would not suffer by comparison with Kolda. Yet it has now been nearly six years, since July of 1984 to be exact, since Kolda gained full regional status. The destinies of the locality have not changed for all that. The city wears the same face it did in times past, according to an inhabitant, in whose view "even the dead, if resuscitated, could return to their homes without difficulty." Only a few new buildings housing administrative departments mark a change from the past.

Kolda's development is nearly hamstrung by its physical isolation, which limits economic activity. There is practically only one large road, the one linking Ziguinchor to

Kolda and Tambacounda. Otherwise, it is trails that serve as roads. Travel sometimes occurs under very difficult conditions, but once winter sets in, certain trails are no longer passable. Under the circumstances, how can one talk about getting off the ground economically when even the transport of certain products is a problem? In some areas of Cavada, the shipping out of peanuts is still problematical due to the lack of production trails: Existing ones were built by SODE-FITEX [Society for the Development of the Cotton Industry] for the shipment of cotton.

Keeping the population supplied with goods is not easy either. The SONADIS [National Investment Company of Senegal] stores created to facilitate provisioning of rural populations with food and equipment are found only in towns. Not a single store has been opened along the entire length of the border with Gambia, in the Medina Yoro Foulda area. The people depend on weekly markets, but here too transportation problems do not allow them to lay in adequate stores. The situation is such that talk of "buying Senegalese" is an empty phrase for inhabitants unable to find a single foodstuff in their area. They are consequently forced to go to Gambia to stock up, taking the chance of meeting up with customs officers. "What can you do," confesses a customs official, "they have to live and if they don't find provisions here, they are going to look for them in Gambia." Customs officers are sometimes forced to be lenient so border populations can restock in Gambia.

Left Out in the Cold

Another important problem is health-care coverage, which leaves much to be desired. Despite its sizable population estimated at nearly 593,000 inhabitants, the Kolda region has no regional hospital. It is the only region where patients must be evacuated to Ziguinchor, nearly 200 km away, or Tambacounda, a distance of 185 km, for all surgeries. The department of Kolda has only a small health center with one doctor assigned to it. Here too, evacuation is the only salvation, even for patients with hernias or women with difficult labors.

A single physician is responsible for the whole department of Kolda, peopled by more than 175,000 inhabitants. The latter is at wit's end so frequently are his services demanded throughout the day. Furthermore, in the whole department there are only 16 health stations, each run by a nurse or health agent. There is thus a chronic shortage of health personnel. The people are trying to build dispensaries like those in the Medina Yoro Foulda, but there, out of four health stations completed, only one has been staffed with a nurse. Most maternity wards are closed for want of

midwives, while certain areas are upset about the lack of nurses. In the Anambe Basin, for instance, despite the water storage that draws many parasites, there is no health station. The closest one is some 40 km away. Health problems are so acute that some people living near the Gambia River cross the border to be treated in Gambia at the Basse hospital. But because the deterioration of relations between Senegal and Gambia, Gambians require each Senegalese to pay 500 francs, believing Senegal to have more resources than Gambia for taking care of its own population. In desperation, some people have taken dual Senegalese and Gambian nationality, for health comes first.

Otherwise, Kolda is an essentially agricultural region, which lives on the revenue from three large crops: peanuts, cotton, and rice. The cotton crisis ended after a year of conflict between producers and Sodefitex, which had resulted in a boycott of cotton farming. The situation returned to normal with Sodefitex's decision to upgrade the price paid to producers and lower the cost of production inputs. Meanwhile the situation for rice-farming, which was the region's great hope after construction of the Anambe dam, has become cloudy. The land is managed by the state. That is, it is SODAGRI [Senegalese Society for the Development of Agriculture and Industry] that provides the management and the production factors, which will be deducted from the harvests. This has sparked revolt among some farmers who were not prepared to work this way and who are seeing their profits eaten into. In addition, Sodagri has failed to respect its commitments. The project was to have been a combined one involving rice and animal husbandry. As it is, the people have no facilities for livestock. There is still no basin for the animals, though nearly all the people raise livestock. According to the deputy Sandigui Balde, "the surrounding villages no longer consider going out to cultivate rice. On the contrary, they stay in their neck of the woods to grow peanuts."

That leaves a water supply that in Senegal, like everywhere else, has seen some fiascos. Neighboring Guinea-Bissau opted for the simple hydraulic system with pumps to haul up water, while Senegal based its system on wells whose equipment is much more costly. Paradoxically, it is the people of Senegal who are having problems, while the Guinea-Bissau river dwellers are doing very nicely. This explains the people's sentiment that they "have been left out in the cold." It is a situation that does not make things easy for locally elected officials. Hence Sandigui Balde's wish "that a system be used that cannot disadvantage the Senegalese people."

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